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**THE HISTORY OF BUKHARA**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 الحمد لله الذي نفع الصالحات سببا وشا  
 قد ارجع جلاله كراوته و جهان است و دانسته  
 نمان است در روزی هنده جان است و دانسته  
 رحمت و رحمت است در روزی هنده جان است و دانسته  
 و قائم بقرآن مجید مصطفی صلوات الله علیه و سلم و علی و آله  
 و اتباع او علیهم السلام بحسب اقتضای حاجت خدمت  
 مجلسی مولانا صدر الصدور جهان فاجه امام اجل عز  
 اشرف الطراز محمد کبیر کریم برهان الله و الدین سیف  
 المسلمین حاکم الامم و الخلیفین زین العابدین و سلیمان  
 سلطان الشریع کشف الله قده و قاله ناصر المستقام  
 ابدا عن تخییر خلافة فیض الایام مجیر الانام ملک العالم  
 اکرم الدینا علم الوری سید ابن لاریضی امام الحرمین مفتی  
 الحنفیین اکرم اللطیفین حبیب الابرار تاج المعانی  
 و الاما قیوم المراتب المتخالفین عبد الوکیلین صدر  
 الامام الاجل الشیخ السید حماد الدین عربی صدر  
 الامام الحیدر برهان الدین عبد الوکیل قدس سره و درج  
 و بارک فی عین الخلف فی البیوت و الاما و له و الشیخ  
 و الاقرام السام کترین بنده کان محمد بن زفر بن محمد  
 مجلس عالی مولوی دام عالی اشرف معالیه میمون  
 دام میمونارزانی دارد و بحسب رضا ملا ملک و مایه

الله تعالی آغاز کتاب جنین آورد ابو نصر محمد بن محمد بن  
 نصر القبادی که ابو محمد جعفر نرشی کتاب تالیف کرده است  
 بنام امیر حمید نوح بن نصر بن اسماعیل الحلی و محمد ابرو  
 نور صبیح ذکر بخارا و مناقب فضائل او و آنچه در وی است  
 و در روزی هنده جان است و مناقب و آنچه در وی است  
 و ذکر جادیشی که در ماده بخارا آمده است از رسول صلی علیه  
 و آله و سلم و صحاب کرام و تابعین و علما و دین و اخلاص  
 علیهم السلام و تالیف این کتاب بتاریخ بوده و سبب  
 بدیع در خصوص اثنین و ثلثین و ثلثه و چون پیشتر  
 بخاندن آن رغبت می نمودند و دست از من در خواست  
 کردند که این کتاب را بپاری ترجمه کنم در خواست ایشان  
 اجابت کردم و این کتاب را بپاری ترجمه کردم در خواست  
 الاول سنه اثنین و عشرين و ثمانه و چون در این کتاب  
 ذکر چیزهای بود که بدان مصلحت نداشت و نیز طبیعت  
 از خواندن آن ملالت می افروزد و از آن بیزبانه کرده  
 شد در شهر سنه اربع و سبعین و ثمانه از رسول صلی علیه  
 و آله و سلم و صحاب او و تابعین رضوان الله علیهم  
 قال ابو نصر محمد بن محمد بن محمد القبادی قدس سره  
 الامام الاجل الامام و شمس الدین ابو بکر بن علی الفضل  
 الزرنجری قدس سره قال حدثننا شیخ الامام حماد بن اسیری  
 قال حدثننا ابو حفص محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن النقیه قال حدثننا

روایت (در مقدمه)

First and second pages of the Manuscript of *The History of Bukhara* in the Library of the American Oriental Society, Yale University.



# THE HISTORY OF BUKHARA

Translated from a Persian Abridgment of the  
Arabic Original by Narshakhī

RICHARD N. FRYE



THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
1954

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فَقَّةُ الدُّنْيَا بَخَارًا وَلَنَا فِيهَا اقْتِحَامُ  
لَيْتَهَا تَفْسُوبُنَا الْآنَ نَقْدُ طَالِ الْمَقَامِ

ابو احمد بن ابي بكر الكاتب من كتاب معجم البلدان  
لياقوت



## *Preface*

It is with some trepidation that I present a translation from the Persian of the mediaeval history of Bukhara, for there are so many problems left unsolved and so many possibilities of dispute among scholars that one hesitates to take the final step into print. This translation, however, is long overdue, having been started as a doctoral dissertation in 1941 and ostensibly finished in 1946. Other tasks, and additional work on newly found manuscripts of the history, have kept me from a last revision for a long time. Now that the translation is printed I hope it will be of interest and of use to historians as well as to orientalists. I have tried to keep the less specialized reader in mind and beg the indulgence of both historian and orientalist for oversights or partiality to one or the other.

The transliteration of Persian, as well as Arabic and Russian, has been a vexing problem and I have changed my mind several times, necessitating tiresome changes in the manuscript. I debated much whether one should give the Persian *izāfat* as *-e* or *-i* and finally decided on the latter, partially because I decided to restrict the vowels in Persian to *a-i-u* (as in Arabic) and ignore (for the most part) the *e* and *o* (*majbūl*) vowels. I have, however, maintained some differences between Arabic and Persian; e.g. the *hamza* (*Tārīkh* in P and *Ta'rīkh* in A) and Persian *v* for Arabic *w*. If I have been arbitrary or have overlooked some examples, I can only take refuge in R. W. Emerson's aphorism, "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

I fear that my intention at one time—to follow the students of Egyptian hieroglyphs and transliterate each foreign sign (or letter) with one Latin character—has not been realized, but the Persian, Arabic, and Russian transliterations should be understandable to those who read the languages. I have omitted the final *h* in Arabic and Persian words, where it is not pronounced, except in the word *Khudāh*, as in *Bukhār Khudāh*, since there was a be-



lief for some time that the latter word should be written Khudāt. For the Arabic ending variously written *-iya*, *-iyya*, *-iyyah*, etc., I have perhaps arbitrarily chosen *-īya*. The diphthong *-ai-* I have maintained and have not written it *-ay-*; thus Saiyār and not Sayyār. I have written *abū* as *ibn*, with minuscule, except if the man is known as Abū Muslim or Ibn Sīna, or the like. I have written most Arabic and Persian terms in italics, as *dihqān*, but not well-known words such as sultan and amīr. I have written Naisābūr(ī) (*à l'Arabe*) where it is so written in the various texts, otherwise Nishāpūr(ī). Titles of existing books are given in italics, non-existing works in quotation marks. After reading of the controversial literature I have chosen the form of the name, perhaps wrongly, Maqdisī for Muqaddasī. Parentheses in the translation indicate that I have added the enclosed to the text for a better understanding. Square brackets indicate something in the text which is superfluous or an aside, as [May God curse him]. Thus I have had to be arbitrary on a number of occasions, but I hope there will not be too much controversy over such decisions. The notes are intended as guides to further references rather than exhaustive treatises. I have retained what may be called stilted expressions in the translation rather than change the flavor or even the meaning.

It gives me great pleasure to thank those who have been of aid in the preparation of the manuscript. In 1946 Professor Franz Rosenthal (University of Pennsylvania) read the entire manuscript and gave many valuable suggestions. The late L. Bogdanov (Dugin) of Kabul helped me with several difficult Persian passages. Professor G. von Grunebaum (University of Chicago) read the manuscript in 1950 and made a number of comments. To Dr. Mehmed Simsar (State Department) I owe great thanks, first as my teacher of Persian, and then as a kind friend who devoted much time to reading the manuscript. He made many suggestions and read the proofs. My obligation to Dr. Omeljan Pritsak (University of Hamburg), the authority on Turkish dynasties in Central Asia, is obvious from a glance at the notes. I am greatly indebted to him for his part in preparing the final draft. Finally I owe more than may be apparent to my teacher of Iranian languages, Professor W. B. Henning (University of

London) who read the manuscript in 1946 and gave suggestions, saving me from many pitfalls. I alone am responsible for all errors.

I feel a deep sense of gratitude to the Mediaeval Academy of America for including this volume in their series, and especially to the indefatigable editor of *Speculum*, Charles R. D. Miller, who supported my oft flagging spirits to the end. As Sa'dī says, *dushman chi kunad chūn mihrbān bāshad dūst?*

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N.B. Arabists please note that I have written mechanically everywhere *ibn* even where one might have preferred *bin* or *b*.

Because of difficulties of printing, and two kinds of notes, the notes on variant readings in the text are indicated by reference marks rather than numbers or letters. Frequently on the same page two asterisks or two similar marks will appear. The first one in the text always refers to the first one listed below.



## *Introduction*

In studying Central Asian history frequent reference to Narshakhī's history of Bukhara indicated the importance of this work as a source for the pre-Islamic and early Islamic history of one of the oldest cities of the Muslim East. The text has been known in the West a long time and two editions of it have appeared. A Russian translation was made in Tashkent, but it is exceedingly rare and leaves much to be desired.<sup>1</sup>

Many scholars have made use of Narshakhī because the work contains items of information of interest to the linguist, numismatist, and archaeologist, as well as to the historian. Narshakhī's work, like those of many other mediaeval Persian historians, must be checked by other sources; for the transmission of Narshakhī's text through many hands must have contributed to the errors in it.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the book does contain material not found elsewhere, and it supplements other accounts of the events of the time.

There were, in Arabic and Persian, several important histories of Transoxiana and Khurāsān, as well as many separate city chronicles, which have not survived.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the most famous of them was the *History of the Governors of Khurāsān* by Abu'l Ḥusain 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Baihaqī al-Nishāpūrī al-Sallāmī, which was utilized by Ibn al-Athīr and Gardīzī.<sup>4</sup> It seems that every large city in the Muslim East had one or more local histories. The most noted history of Samarqand was written by Abū Sa'īd Idrīsī, who died in Samarqand in 405/1014.<sup>5</sup> Another history of Samarqand, as well as a history of Kish and Nasaf (Nakhshab), was written by Abu'l 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad al-Mustaghfirī.<sup>6</sup> Three histories of Merv, two of Herat, two of Khwārazm, one of Balkh, and a History of Bukhara and Samarqand by Sa'd ibn Janāḥ are mentioned in the history of Baihaq, the present Sabzavār in Khurāsān.<sup>7</sup> None of these have survived.



There were other histories of Bukhara, but only Narshakhī's abridged Persian version has survived.<sup>8</sup> Consequently the importance of Narshakhī's work is enhanced, even though the book has passed through many hands which have altered the text.

### *Transmission of the Text*

The History of Bukhara was written in Arabic and presented to the Sāmānid amīr Nūḥ ibn Naṣr in 332/943 or 4.<sup>9</sup> The author was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Zakariyā ibn Khaṭṭāb ibn Sharīk al-Narshakhī from the village of Narshakh, in the vicinity of Bukhara.<sup>10</sup> Nothing is known of the life of Narshakhī, and it seems this was the only work he composed.

The book was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad al-Qubāwī in 522/1128-9.<sup>11</sup> On the first page it is stated that the work was translated because people did not wish to read the Arabic original. Qubāwī also omitted unnecessary and tiresome passages in the book, and brought the history down to 365/975.

In 574/1178-9 the book was abridged by a certain Muḥammad ibn Zufar ibn 'Umar,<sup>12</sup> who also made additions from other works notably the *Khazā'in al-'ulūm* of Abu'l Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī. The work was presented to the chief of the Hanafites in Bukhara (who had the honorary title Ṣadr al-Ṣudūr) 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Burhān al-Dīn, who was governor of Bukhara for the Qarā Khitāi rulers of Turkistān.

An unknown author seems to have added to the text after the time of the Mongol invasions, for we find mention of the Mongol conquest of Bukhara in chapters 8 and 16. Thus the text which we have has been translated, abridged and increased by many emendators.

### *The Sources of Narshakhī*

Narshakhī probably used a number of sources in the preparation of his history, but in the final work which is preserved it is difficult to determine which sources were utilized by the author, which by the translator, and which by later emendators. Muḥammad ibn Zufar ibn 'Umar made frequent additions from the *Khazā'in al-'ulūm* of Nīshāpūrī.<sup>13</sup> Five times this source is mentioned and it was probably used elsewhere without reference to



it. Another source, mentioned in the account of the learned Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr, is the *Faḍl* (sic, *Faṣl*) *al-khiṭāb* by Muḥammad ibn Ṭālūt Hamadānī (ch. 23). This book is not found in any of the Arabic bibliographical works.<sup>14</sup> In the account of the rise of the Sāmānids Narshakhī uses a source by Muḥammad ibn Sāliḥ al-Laithī and Abu'l Ḥasan Madā'inī (Maidānī in Narshakhī). The latter is the well-known author used extensively by Ṭabarī, especially in his accounts of the Arab conquests in Khurāsān and Transoxiana.<sup>15</sup> I have not found the former author listed in any of the standard Arabic or Persian reference works.

For his account of the false prophet Muqanna' our author gives Ṭabarī and Ibrāhīm, the author of the "Account of Muqanna'" as sources. Barthold believes that the author of the latter is the famous poet al-Ṣūlī, although there is no direct evidence as to his identity.<sup>16</sup>

Narshakhī undoubtedly drew upon local tradition for much of his information, parallels of which may be found in Balādhurī and 'Alī ibn A'tham al-Kūfī.<sup>17</sup> Much of it is unreliable and must be used with care, but some of the information is unique and of value. Parallels with other sources will be mentioned in the notes, (e.g. the story of Qutaiba and the pearls of Baikand, ch. 19).

### *Narshakhī's work and European Scholarship*

From available records it seems that the first manuscript of Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara* to reach Europe was brought from Bukhara by Sir Alexander Burnes. He visited Bukhara in 1832 and purchased the manuscript, giving it to the Royal Asiatic Society on his return.<sup>18</sup> He was followed nine years later by the Russian orientalist N. V. Khanykov, who obtained three MSS in Bukhara and deposited them in the Public Library of St. Petersburg.<sup>19</sup> In 1858 another Russian orientalist, P. Lerch, accompanied the mission of Col. N. S. Ignatiev to Khiva and Bukhara. He returned with a large collection of coins and manuscripts, including one of Narshakhī, which was given to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg.<sup>20</sup> Although we have no direct evidence, C. Schefer probably obtained his MS in Istanbul at approximately the same time. It was deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris after his death. An American, Eugene



Schuyler, obtained a MS of our author, among others, and gave it to the library of the American Oriental Society in 1885, twelve years after he had purchased it in Bukhara.<sup>21</sup> So the manuscripts found their way early into European libraries, and they did not remain long unused.

The first extensive use of Narshakhī was made by P. Lerch in his work on the coinage of the "Bukhār Khudāhs," the native rulers of Bukhara.<sup>22</sup> A popular history of Bukhara by A. Vambery brought the work of Narshakhī to the attention of a wider public. The author's assertion that Narshakhī's history was a new and unknown manuscript, however, brought forth several uncomplimentary remarks from reviewers.<sup>23</sup>

A portion of the text was published in the *Chrestomathie Persane* of C. Schefer (Paris, 1883), and the entire text appeared nine years later.<sup>24</sup> It was lithographed in New Bukhara in 1894 together with the *Kitāb-i mullāzāde*.<sup>25</sup> Three years later the text was translated into Russian by N. Lykoshin under the supervision of V. Bartold in Tashkent.<sup>26</sup> In 1904 it was again lithographed in Bukhara, and finally the Persian text was printed in Tehran in 1939.

The numismatists have utilized Narshakhī on many occasions, and the work has also proved of value to historians.<sup>27</sup> The French translation, promised by C. Schefer, however, never appeared.<sup>28</sup>

### *Manuscripts*

Although almost half of the manuscripts of Narshakhī which have come to my attention are uncatalogued, after an examination of six of them I found what might be called two versions of the work. One is represented by the manuscripts from Central Asia in the Russian collections (Nos. 8-16) and the MS of the American Oriental Society (No. 4), with the lithographed edition of New Bukhara of 1904. The other may be called the Iranian version as found in the MSS from Iran and Istanbul (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7) with the Tehran and Paris editions. The two versions vary only slightly in detail although the Central Asian MSS have a longer doxology at the beginning and here and there they interpolate sentences in the text.



The following editions and manuscripts were used in the preparation of my Persian text with an extensive *apparatus criticus*:<sup>29</sup>

A. The Tehran edition of Mudarris Razavī (1939), 128 Pp. This edition is based upon MS No. 7 (below) in the Sipahsālār mosque library (Razavī says in the library of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tehran) and upon No. 17 (below) and the Paris ed. This is the best edition of the text and the basis of the translation, where it is referred to as A.

B. The Bukhara edition is a lithographed book of 125 pages, dated 1904 in Novoy Bukhara. Dr. Omeljan Pritsak of the University of Hamburg kindly sent me a microfilm of this work which is probably based on Tashkent MSS. I refer to it as B.

C. The Paris edition of Charles Schefer, *Description de Boukhara* (Paris, 1892), 1-97, is based upon MS Nos. 1 and 2. This edition is designated C in the translation.

D. MS of the American Oriental Society, No. 4, which is D in the translation.

E. MS of the British Museum, No. 5, which I refer to as E in the translation.

F. MS of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 6, which is F in the translation.

G. V. Lykoshin, *Istoriya Bukhary* (Tashkent, 1897),<sup>30</sup> Lykoshin: in the translation.

In addition I have examined MSS 1, 3, and 7 but have found no appreciable differences from those used above. After the MSS were collated, a task which took several years, I realized my Persian text could not be printed even though desirable, and that the translation should follow the best printed edition which is available. Therefore the translation presented here is not based upon my established text but upon the Tehran edition; variant readings have been kept at a minimum—supplied only when the meaning is different or something new is added. The translation endeavors to follow the printed Persian text as closely as possible without breaking the rules of English grammar.

All manuscripts which have come to my attention are listed below in chronological sequence, as far as possible, except where two or more are found in one collection or in the same city; then they are listed together. Undated manuscripts are listed at the end.

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 517. This MS is said to date from the fifteenth century; good *nasta'liq*, with the seals of the successive *khwājas* of Juibār of Bukhara; 94 foll.



2. Paris, Bibl. Natl., No. 518. It is written in *naskhi* and dates from the second half of the nineteenth century. Actually it is a copy of No. 3 made by order of Schefer. It has 53 foll.<sup>81</sup>

3. Istanbul, Sülemaniye Libraries, Wahbi Effendi, No. 1130. The MS is dated about the seventeenth or eighteenth century, 112 foll., 13 lines, *nasta'liq*.<sup>82</sup>

4. New Haven, American Oriental Society, uncatalogued.<sup>83</sup> It is dated 1219/1804, *naskhi*, 39 foll., 23 lines to the page. Pages 1 to 5 do not occur in the three editions of the text. These pages tell of the visits of various prophets to Bukhara including the "Seal of the Prophets," Muhammad. The glories and wonders of the city are related in the florid style of later Persian authors.

5. London, British Museum, Supplement No. 87. It dates from the nineteenth century, *nasta'liq*, 199 foll., 13 lines.<sup>84</sup>

6. London, Royal Asiatic Society No. P. 159 (1), or Morley 160. The date of the MS is 1246/1830, *nasta'liq*, 105 foll., 13 lines.<sup>85</sup> This MS was bought by Sir Alexander Burnes in Bukhara in 1832.

7. Tehran, Library of the Sipahsālār Mosque, uncatalogued. It is dated 1235/1819 and is in bad *nasta'liq*. It is number 1642 of the library *daftar*. Folios 37b-110a contain the history of Narshakhī. The size of the volume is 19 x 13.5 cm.

7a. Tehran, Majlis No. 225. It is dated 1301/1883-4, *nasta'liq* and *shikasta*, 72 foll., 15 lines. Narshakhī comprises the second half of the MS.<sup>86</sup> This is a copy of the preceding MS.<sup>87</sup>

8. Tashkent, Central Asian University Library No. 68. Copied in 1304/1887 by Muhammad Yūnus Shāhrisyāb, 78 foll., 15 lines. The first part is a *Tārīkh-i hukamā'-i salaf* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. Shāhrūdī.<sup>88</sup>

8a. V. L. Vyatkin had a MS in his collection in Samarqand which was listed as No. 187 without a description in his unpublished catalogue. It may, however, be the same MS as No. 8.<sup>89</sup>

9. Bukhara, Central Library, No. 92. There is no information on the date of copying, or number of folios. It is part of a book, the rest of which is the *Kitāb-i mullāzāde*.<sup>40</sup>

10-11. Leningrad, University of Leningrad, No. 947c and 948c. There is no description of these manuscripts, given to the University by E. F. Kal, who had collected them in Bukhara.<sup>41</sup>

12-14. Leningrad Public Library, Nos. 78z, 79, 80. The first two are copies of the same MS, the latter dated 1261/1845. No. 80 is undated and differs in many respects from the first two. (In the same collection, MS No. 78b is the *Tadhkira-i muqīm khāni* by Muḥ. Yūsuf al-Munshī on the notables of Bukhara.)<sup>42</sup>

15. Leningrad, Asiatic Museum, No. 574. Dated 1235/1819-20. This manuscript was brought from Central Asia by P. Lerch. There is no published catalogue of the Asiatic Museum MSS hence no details are available.<sup>43</sup>

16. The MS formerly in the possession of Aleksander Liudovikovich Kun in St. Petersburg is dated 1225/1810-1. Its present location is unknown.<sup>44</sup>

17. Meshed. The editor of the Tehran edition of Narshakhī copied



a MS in Meshed which is not listed in the catalogue of the shrine library, hence is presumably uncatalogued, or in private possession.<sup>45</sup>

18. In a notebook or MS of the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad the foll. 17a-29a; 34a-35a; 60b are from the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. No date is given. Cf. V. Bartold, "O neketorykh vostochnykh rukopisyakh," *Izvestiya Ross. Akad. Nauk* (1919), 926.

19-37. Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Tashkent. They are listed under the book title *Taḥqīq al-vilāyet* (Tochnoe issledovanie o Bukharskoy strane). The earliest dated MS is 1805, the latest 1900.<sup>46</sup>

38. Top Kapu Saray, Istanbul, Bağdadlı Vehbi collection No. 1130. I was unable to use this MS.<sup>47</sup>

### Notes

1. See the remarks of N. I. Veselovsky in his review of Lykoshin's translation in *ZMNP* (December, 1897), 466-8.

2. The judgement of H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923), 12, 14, and *passim*, is perhaps a little severe. Narshakhī, of course, does have errors in dates and facts.

3. Cf. É. Amar, "Prolégomènes à l'étude des historiens Arabes," *JA*, Série 10, tome 19 (1912), 247, 252. The valuable book of F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), was received after the proofs were printed. Cf. p. 391 of his book.

4. Cf. W. Barthold, "Zur Geschichte der Šaffāriden," in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet* (Gieszen, 1906), 1, 174-5, also the *Yatimat al-dahr* of 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālibī, 4, 29, and also M. Nizām u'd-dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi-'u'l-Hikāyat of Muḥammad 'Awfī*, 45. Cf. Rosenthal, 252. Another history, written at the end of the eighth century, was the *Kitāb al-kharāj-i Khurāsān*; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 7.

5. Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, 22b. It is also mentioned in the book of Qurashī, *Al-jawāhir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīya*, 1, 69. Cf. Rosenthal, 382, note 5, where he is called Sa'd.

6. Cf. P. Lerch, "Monety Bukhar Khudatov," *Trudy VOIRAO* (St. Petersburg, 1874), 18, 50. Mustaghfirī's history is quoted frequently in the *Tārīkh Samarqand*, e.g. foll. 43b, 46b, 49a, 68a. For his full name, etc., cf. Rosenthal, 397 and 405.

7. *Tārīkh-i Baihaq* of Abu'l Hasan 'Alī ibn Zaīd Baihaqī known as Ibn Funduq, 21. For other histories cf. Rosenthal, 397, note 2, and 386.

8. The best known history of Bukhara was by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaimān al-Ghunjar al-Bukharī. Cf. Rosenthal, 386, 428. The *Tārīkh Samarqand*, foll. 40a, mentions a history of Bukhara by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bukharī who died in 312/924.

9. In 337/948-9, according to the *Tārīkh-i buzurgān-i Bukhārā* in Lerch, *op. cit.*, 51, note 1. The *Brskhi* of Sam'ānī in Bartold, *Turkestan v*



*epokhu Mongolskago Nashestviya*, teksty, 53, is to be corrected to Narshakhī.

10. I have found only two references to Narshakhī. In the *Lubāb al-albāb* of 'Aufī, ed. E. G. Browne (Leiden, 1906), 1, 333-4, Burhān al-Dīn, the governor of Bukhara, is mentioned as the person to whom Muḥammad ibn Zufar dedicated his translation of Narshakhī. Sam'ānī, 558a, also mentions him but not his history. P. Lerch, "Sur les monnaies des Boukhār-Khoudahs," *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes* (St. Petersburg, 1879), 2, 424, gives a more complete text of this section of Sam'ānī, based on a MS in St. Petersburg. From this text it is not certain that the dates "born 286/899, and died in the month of Ṣafar 348/April 959," necessarily refer to Narshakhī, although Minorsky in his article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane* (Paris, 1883), 1, 9, accept these dates for the historian.

From O. Pritsak, Hamburg, I received the following note on 10 April, 1953; "Die weiteren Zitate aus dem *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* finden sich im: (1) *Kitāb-i mullāzāde* (cf. note 104 to our translation); (2) '*Abd Allāh Nāme* des Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh (see Storey, *Persian Literature*, Sect. II, fasc. 2, No. 504, pp. 374-5); in diesem Werke befindet sich u.a. eine Beschreibung von Buchara, welche beweist, dass dem Verfasser eine vollständigere Version des sog. *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī* als die uns erhaltene vorgelegen hat." Cf. Barthold, *Bukhara in the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1, 815; I. Umnyakov, "Abdulla-name Khafiz-i Tanysha i ego issledovateli," *ZKV*, 5 (1930), 309-10.

11. Qubā is a village near Ferghāna; cf. Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, 441a. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, SI, 211, calls him Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Qubāvi. He is mentioned in the *Tārīkh Samarqand*, folio 50b.

12. According to Lerch, "Monety Bukhar Khudatov," 56, he was called Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zufar. He may be the one mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, 198.

13. The only place this work is mentioned, to my knowledge, and the reference is probably from Narshakhī, is in the *Izab- el-Meknun fi-el-Zeyli alā Keṣf-el-Zumun* of Kātip Çelebi (Istanbul, 1945), 1, 428. I have not found the author mentioned in the Arabic or Persian histories of Nīshāpūr, (Persian MS from Bursa, and the Arabic MSS from Ankara and the Köprülü library, Istanbul) on which I am working.

14. Many works with this title are listed in Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zumūn* (Istanbul, 1943), 2, 1260, but none are by Hamadānī.

15. Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, "Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber," *AGAW*, 28 (1881), 16, No. 47 for references, esp. Yāqūt, *Kitāb irshād*, 5, 309-18.

16. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 15.

17. Cf. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, 11-12. For Kūfī, cf. Brockelmann, I, 143; SI, 220. I used the Bombay lithographed edition (in Persian).

18. A Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (London, 1835), 2, 297.

19. Khanykov does not mention the circumstances of his acquisition of the MS, but he uses it in his book *Bokhara, its Amir and its People*



(London, 1845), 38-9. Cf. "Extrait d'une lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn," *MA*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1856), 437-40, and the review of Schefer's edition by Barthold in *ZVOIRAO*, 9 (1896), 313.

20. *Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 10, 317, also V. Bartold, *Istoriya Izucheniya Vostoka* (Leningrad, 1925), 256.

21. Letter from the Yale librarian dated 25 October 1945, also E. Schuyler, *Turkistan* (N. Y., 1876), 2, 97. The manuscript on the lives of the Bukharan saints, which he mentions, was probably left in St. Petersburg.

22. P. Lerch, "Sur les monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudahs," *op. cit.*, 419-29. More complete, but unfinished, is his "Monety Bukhar Khudatov," *op. cit.*

23. A. Vambery, *History of Bokhara* (London, 1873), XII; cf. the reviews by V. Grigoriev in *ZMNP* (November, 1873), 107, translated in Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1, 363. Another review is by A. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1892), 3, 229-30.

24. *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara* (Paris, 1892).

25. According to A. Semenov, *Katalog rukopisei istoricheskogo otdela Bukharskoi Tsentralnoi Biblioteki* (Tashkent, 1925), 22.

26. V. Lykoshin, *Istoriya Bukhary* (Tashkent, 1897).

27. Barthold in his *Turkestan* and Markwart in *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), made extensive use of it.

28. Schefer's edition p. IV. It was reviewed by Barthold in *ZVOIRAO*, 10 (1896), 313-6. Schefer gave a summary of part of the book in his *Relation de l'Ambassade au Kharezmi de Riza Qouly Khan* (Paris, 1879), 258-99.

29. Cf. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, a Bio-bibliographical survey (London, 1936), Section 2, Fasc. 2, 369-70.

30. I was able to use Lykoshin's translation while working in the Library of Congress in 1941.

31. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1905-12), 1, 315-16.

32. F. Tauer, "Les manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothèques de Stamboul," *Archiv Orientalní*, 3 (1931), 489-90.

33. Listed in E. Strout, *Catalogue of the Library of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1930), 209. This MS has several features of Tajiki orthography, such as three dots under the *sin*. But this is also true of other old manuscripts such as the *Andarz nāme* of Qābūs ibn Vushungir.

34. C. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1895), 58-9.

35. W. H. Morely, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts in the Arabic and Persian Languages in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1854), 151-2.

36. Yūsuf I'tisāmī, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-i Majlis Shūrāi Milli* (Tehran, 1933), 2, 126.

37. *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*, ed. by Professor Razavi (Ridawī) (Tehran, 1939), p. z of introduction.



38. A. A. Semonov, "Opisanie persidskikh, arabskikh i turetskikh rukopisei fundamentalnoi biblioteki Sredneaziatskogo gosudar. universiteta," *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo gosudar. Univ.* (Tashkent, 1935), Seriya 2, Orientalia, Fasc. 4, 41-2.

39. Vyatkin's MSS are listed in V. Bartold, "Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan," *ZVOIRAO*, 15 (1902-3), 215, No. 55.

40. A. A. Semenov, *Katalog rukopisei istoricheskogo otdela Bukharskoi Tsentralnoi Biblioteki* (Tashkent, 1925), 21-2.

41. C. Salemann et V. Rosen, *Indices Codicum MSS Persicorum Turcicorum Arabicorum qui in Bibliotheca literarum Universitatis Petropolitanae adservantur* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 49; also in *ZVOIRAO*, 3 (1888), 221.

42. B. Dorn, "Die vordem Chanykov'sche, jetzt der Kaiserl. Bibl. zugehörige Sammlung von morgenländischen Handschriften," *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 5 (St. Petersburg, 1865), 247. It was also issued separately as B. Dorn, *Die Sammlung von Morgenländischen Hss.* (St. Petersburg, 1865), 27. Cf. the letter of V. N. Khanykov to B. Dorn in *Bulletin de la Classe hist.-phil. de l'Acad. imp. des Scs.*, 12 (St. Petersburg, 1855), 161.

43. P. Lerch, "Monety Bukhar Khudatov," *op. cit.*, 59.

44. *Ibid.*, 59.

45. Page v of the introduction of the Tehran ed.

46. A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, 1 (Tashkent, 1952), 46-53, Nos. 92-110 incl. This book only recently came to my attention.

47. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Tarihde Usul* (Istanbul, 1950), 207.



# **THE HISTORY OF BUKHARA**

# *The History of Bukhara*

## I

### *Introduction*

Thanks and praise be to God the most high—exalted be His glory—who is the creator of the world and the knower of hidden things.\* He is the daily provider for living creatures and the keeper of heaven and earth. Blessing and benediction be on the Chosen of Men, the Seal of the Prophets, Muḥammad the Elect, God bless him and his family, companions, followers and partisans. May God's favor be upon all of them.

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Qubāwī says that Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Narshakhī had composed a book dedicated to the amīr Ḥamīd abū Muḥammad Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl al-Sāmānī, (331-343/943-54) may God the Exalted show mercy on him, containing an account of Bukhara, its qualities and excellencies, and of what is in it and its villages of conveniences and advantages, and of anything which has any relation to it. It is also an account of the traditions on the superior qualities of Bukhara, which have come from the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, and from his companions, followers, and the learned men of religion, may the favor of God be on them all.<sup>1</sup>

This book was written in Arabic in an elegant style during the months of the year 332/943. Since most people do not show a desire to read an Arabic book, friends of mine requested me to translate the book into Persian.<sup>2</sup> I consented† (and) translated (the book) in Jumādā 'l-Ūlā of the year 522 (May 1128).<sup>3</sup>

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\* I have not recorded the variants in B, D and E, since they consist of more adjectives and praise for Bukhara as well as God.

† B adds: after 190 years from the writing of the book.



Whenever unimportant items were mentioned in the Arabic manuscript,\* by the reading of which the temper became more fatigued, an account of such things was not made.

In the year 574/1178-9 the least of slaves, Muḥammad ibn Zufar ibn 'Umar read an abridgement of the work to the exalted assembly of the chief minister of the world, Khwāja Imām, the most glorious, most honored, light of the nation and the religion, sword of Islam and the Muslims, scimitar of the Imāms in the two worlds, lord of the religious law, backbone of the caliphate, and chief of the holy places (Mecca and Medina), *muftī* of the two horizons, noble on both sides (father and mother),† possessor of virtues and glories, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ṣadr al-Imām‡ al-Ḥamīd Burhān al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, God consecrate the souls of his ancestors, and bless in this life his posterity in honor and glory.<sup>4</sup>

## II

### *An Account of the Group Who Were Judges in Bukhara*

There was Sībavaih ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī,<sup>5</sup> the grammarian. Muḥammad ibn Ā'yan said, "I heard\* from 'Abdallāh Mubārak that when Sībavaih filled the office of judge in Bukhara he did not do any injustice (even to the amount of) two *dirhams*." He then asserted, "Two *dirhams* is too much, he did not do an atom of injustice (to anyone)."

Mukhallad ibn 'Umar was also a judge for many years, and at the end of his service he became a martyr.<sup>6</sup> Another was Abū Daim Ḥāzim Sadūsī,† whom the caliph appointed as judge.<sup>7</sup> Another was 'Isā ibn Mūsā al-Taimī, known as Ghunjār [God show mercy on him<sup>8</sup>] who, when the appointment was proffered him, did not accept it. The sultan ordered, "If you will not accept it, select another person to whom we should give it." This he also did not accept. The sultan ordered a list of people (suit-

\* B and E add: and there was no compelling benefit.

† B adds: Ḥabīb abū ibn Tāj al-Ma'ālī.

‡ B adds: al-Shadīd, al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn 'Umar ibn al-Ṣadr.

\* C adds: it said.

† B: Jāzim; D: Abū Jarīm Ḥāzim al-Ydūsī.



able for the appointment) of judge to be read to him. So they did, and when they mentioned each name to him, he said, "He should not be appointed." When the name of Ḥasan ibn 'Uthmān Hamadānī was mentioned he remained silent. They concluded that silence from him was a sign of agreement, so Ḥasan ibn 'Uthmān was appointed judge. During his term of office there was no one in the cities of Khurāsān who equalled him in knowledge and piety. After him there was 'Āmir ibn 'Umar ibn 'Imrān, then Ishaq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaiṭā. After his replacement, the latter died in Tūs in the year 208/823.

Another (judge) was Sa'īd ibn Khalaf al-Balkhī who was appointed at the end of Jumādā 'l-'Ūlā of the year 213 (July 828).<sup>9</sup> He fulfilled the function of a judge in such a manner that he was set up as an example of impartiality, justice, and kindness to the people of God the Exalted. He established good laws with impartiality and justice, so that the strong could not tyrannize the weak.\* Among other things, the dams† and the distribution of water in Bukhara were (the results) of his (efforts). Another was‡ 'Abd al-Majīd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Narshakhī [God have mercy on him].<sup>10</sup> They said he belonged to the company of pious men. Another was Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Barkadī [God have mercy on him] who was a judge in the time of the sultan Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl al-Sāmānī.<sup>11</sup> He was both a jurist and an ascetic. Another was Abū Dharr Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Bukhārī, who was one of the followers of Imām Shāfi'ī [may God have mercy on him].<sup>12</sup> He was learned and pious and he was given precedence among the learned men of Bukhara. He was tested many times with secret bribes in every way, but in no wise did he degrade himself, rather day by day his righteousness and sense of justice grew more evident. When he became old he asked for a release from the office of judge. He then went on the pilgrimage (to Mecca). He finished the pilgrimage and stayed some time in 'Irāq where he was busy in the investigation of the traditions of the Prophet [may God bless him and give him

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\* The order of words in the text has been changed for a better understanding.

† B: *zir'āt* (*sic*) "farm lands."

‡ B and D: Khālīd ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Majīd, etc.



peace]. He studied and then returned to Bukhara, and chose a life of retirement till the time of his death. [May God show mercy on him.]

Another was Abū Faḍl ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Marvazī al-Sulamī the jurist.<sup>13</sup> He was the author of the book *Mukhtaṣar-i kāfī*, and a judge for many years in Bukhara. In his service he was never reproached an iota. He showed justice and impartiality to all, so that in his time he did not have a rival in the world in learning and piety. Afterwards he became the prime minister of the sultan. He died and became a martyr.

The author of this book says that if we mention all of the learned men of Bukhara it would require volumes. The group which we have mentioned are among those of whom the Prophet said, "The learned men of my faith are (equal) to the prophets of the sons of Isrā'īl."

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Narshakhī has not put the following section in his book, but Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān\* Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī has mentioned it in the book "The Treasury of the Sciences."<sup>14</sup> This place, which today is Bukhara, was (formerly) a swamp; part of it was a bed of reeds and part planted with trees and a meadow. Some places were such that no animal† could find footing there, because the snows melted on the mountains of the districts about Samarqand and the water collected there. In the vicinity of Samarqand is a large valley (in which) is a river called Māṣaf.<sup>15</sup> A great quantity of water would collect in that river, and the water would dig away much earth and carry down much mud so these hollows would be filled.\* Much water used to flow by carrying the mud till it reached Bitik† and Farab where the water was diverted.<sup>16</sup> The area which is Bukhara was filled and the land became level. That (river) became the great river of Sughd, and the filled area became Bukhara.

People gathered from all sides and were happy there. Some

\* E adds: ibn.

† D: camel.

\* D: There was much water (in that river) which extended and dug away land.

† B: *Ptk*; D: *Sk*; E: *Tbk*.



people came from Turkistān, for there was much water, many trees, and plenty of game here.<sup>17</sup> They were pleased with this area and settled down. They first set up tents and pavilions where they dwelled, but in time more people assembled and they erected buildings. Their number increased and they chose one whom they made amīr. His name was Abrūi.<sup>18</sup> The city (of Bukhara) did not yet exist, but there were several villages. Among them were Nūr, Kharqān Rūd, Vardāna, Tarāvcha, Safna, and Īsvāna.<sup>19</sup> The large settlement where the ruler lived was Baikand, but the town was Qal'a-i Dabūsī, which was called "his city."<sup>20</sup> After the lapse of some time, as Abrūi grew powerful, he exercised tyranny such that the inhabitants of the district could not stand it. The *dihqāns*<sup>21</sup> and the rich (merchants) fled from this district and went to Turkistān and Tarāz† where they built a city.<sup>22</sup> They called the city Hamūkat because the great *dihqān*, who was chief of the band which had fled, was called Hamūk.<sup>23</sup> In the language of Bukhara *hamūk* means a jewel, and *kat* means city;\* i.e.—the city of Hamūk (the jewel).<sup>24</sup> In the language of Bukhara a noble is called *hamūk*, i.e.—such a person is a jewel. Then those people who had remained in Bukhara sent a man to their nobles and asked for succor from the oppression of Abrūi.<sup>25</sup> Those nobles and *dihqāns* went to the ruler of the Turks who was called Qarā Jūrīn Turk,<sup>26</sup> and because of his size had been nicknamed Biyāghū.<sup>27</sup> They asked him for assistance. Biyāghū sent his son, who was called Shīr-i Kishvar,<sup>28</sup> with a large army. When Shīr-i Kishvar came to Bukhara he seized Abrūi in Baikand and imprisoned him. He ordered a large sack filled with red bees,† and they confined Abrūi in that sack until he died.

This district so pleased Shīr-i Kishvar that he sent his father a letter asking for (the governorship) of this area, for he wanted permission to remain in Bukhara. An answer came from Biyāghū, "I give this district to you." Shīr-i Kishvar sent a person to Hamūkat, to those people who had fled from Bukhara, in order to bring them back with their wives and children to Bu-

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‡ D: Brnkath and Otrār.

\* D and E for "city": Brnkath.

† D adds: poisonous.



khara. Then it was promulgated that whosoever returned from Hamūkat would become one of the aristocracy. (This was) because whoever had been rich or a great *dihqān* had fled, while the mendicants and poor had remained. When that group returned, the people who had remained destitute‡ became servants of the former.<sup>29</sup> Among those nobles was a great *dihqān* who was called Bukhār Khudāt,<sup>30</sup> for he was of an old *dihqān* family, and his estates were more (than others). The greater part of these (poor) people were his peasants and servants.\* Shīr-i Kishvar built the city proper of Bukhara and the villages of Mamāstīn, Saqmatīn, Samatīn, and Farab.<sup>31</sup> He ruled twenty years, and after him there was another ruler who built Iskiĵkat, Shargh, and Rāmitīn.<sup>32</sup> After that the village of Farakhshā was founded.<sup>33</sup> When the daughter of the king of *Chīn* was brought to Bukhara as a bride, a pagoda (*but-khāna*) was brought from *Chīn* in her trousseau.<sup>34</sup> This pagoda was placed in Rāmitīn.

In the time of the caliphate of the Amīr of the Faithful Abū Bakr(al)-Ṣiddīq, (632-4) [may God be pleased with him] coins of pure silver were struck in Bukhara. Previous (to this time) there had been no coinage in Bukhara.<sup>35</sup>

In the reign of Mu'āwiya (661-680) Bukhara (*sic*) was conquered by Qutaiba ibn Muslim, and Ṭughshāda† became its ruler. He ruled thirty-two years on the part of Qutaiba ibn Muslim. It was in the time of Naṣr ibn Saiyār, who was the amīr of Khurāsān, (120-130/738-48) that Abū Muslim killed him (Ṭughshāda) in Samarqand (*sic*). Ṭughshāda ruled ten years after Qutaiba,‡ and Abū Muslim [may God show him mercy] killed him.<sup>36</sup> After him his brother Sukān\*\* ibn Ṭughshāda ruled seven years. He was killed in the palace of Farakhshā on the order of the caliph. A quarrel arose and he was killed in his own palace in the month of Ramaḍān. A booklet was lying on his lap and he was reading the Qur'ān when they killed him. They buried him in the (same) palace yard. After him his brother Bunyāt\* ibn Ṭughshāda ruled

‡ B and E: who had remained in Bukhara.

\* B adds: —and they considered him their ruler.

† B adds: —who was the son of Bukhār Khuddāt.

‡ Pritsak emends to read: "After him Qutaiba ibn Ṭ. ruled ten years."

\*\* D: Shikār.

\* D: Nīnāt.



seven years and was killed in the palace of Farakhshā at the command of the caliph. The reason for that will be mentioned later. Afterwards Bukhara was in the hands of the children of Ṭughshāda, his servants and grandchildren until the time of the amīr Ismaʿīl Sāmānī who took the kingdom from the descendants of Bukhār Khudāh. An account of that will be mentioned later.

### III

*An account of Khātūn who was the ruler of Bukhara, and of her children who ruled after her*

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far says that when Bīdūn Bukhār Khudāh<sup>87</sup> died there remained a suckling son named Ṭughshāda. Khātūn,<sup>88</sup> who was mother of this boy, became the ruler and reigned for fifteen years. During her reign the Arabs began to come to Bukhara. Each time Khātūn\* made peace and paid them tribute. So it was said that in her time there was no one more capable than she. She governed wisely and the people were obedient to her.

She had the custom every day of coming out of the gate of the fortress of Bukhara on a horse and halting at the gate of the Rīgistān, which was called the gate of the "forage sellers."<sup>89</sup> She used to sit on a throne, while before her stood slaves, masters of the seraglio, i.e. the eunuchs, and the nobles. She had made it an obligation for the rural population that every day, from the *dihqāns* and princes, two hundred youths, girded with gold belts and swords carried (on the shoulder), should appear for service and stand at a distance. When Khātūn came out all made obeisance to her and stood in two rows while she inquired into the affairs of state.<sup>40</sup> She issued orders and prohibitions,† and gave a robe of honor to whomsoever she wished and punishment to whom she wished. Thus she was seated from early morning to lunch time. After that she returned to the castle and sent trays,

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\* D has: Ṭughshāda.

† E: issued orders and carried them out.



giving food to her entire retinue. When it was evening she came out in the same manner and sat on the throne. Some *dihqāns* and princes stood before her in two rows in attendance till the sun set. Then she rose, mounted (a horse), and returned to the palace while the rest went to their homes in the villages. On another day other people would come and be in attendance in the same manner, as many times as a turn came to that group. Every year each group had to come in this manner four days.

When this Khātūn died, and her son Ṭughshāda had grown up and was fit to rule, everyone coveted the kingdom. A certain vezīr called Vardān Khudāh, who ruled the district of Vardāna,\* had come from Turkistān.†<sup>41</sup> Qutaiba had to fight many battles against him. Several times he drove him from this district so that he fled to Turkistān. Vardān Khudāh died, and Qutaiba seized Bukhara. Qutaiba gave Bukhara back to Ṭughshāda and made him ruler. He (Qutaiba) cleared the kingdom (of sedition) for him and took the power away from all of his enemies. Ṭughshāda accepted the faith (Islam) from Qutaiba and ruled Bukhara as long as Qutaiba was alive.<sup>42</sup> After Qutaiba's death Bukhara was ruled by him thirty-two years till the time of Naṣr ibn Saiyār.<sup>43</sup> After his conversion to Islam a son was born to him, and out of friendship‡ he called him Qutaiba. After Ṭughshāda, his son, Qutaiba, sat on the throne. He was a Muslim for a while until he apostatized in the time of Abū Muslim [may God show mercy on him]. Abū Muslim heard (of his apostasy) and killed him.<sup>44</sup> He also killed his brother with his followers.

After that, Bunyāt ibn Ṭughshāda became ruler of Bukhara. He had been born into Islam. He was a Muslim for some time until Muqanna' appeared and the revolt of the people in "White Raiments" arose in the rural districts of Bukhara. Bunyāt showed partiality for them and gave them help, so the people in "White Raiments" extended their influence and grew in power. The master of the post\* sent this information to the caliph who was

\* B: Vardānzī.

† Perhaps *amīr* should be read for *vezīr*. D has: One of the Turks had come, whose name was Yazdān Khudāh.

‡ B and E: friendship for Qutaiba who had made his place (secure).

\* E: police.



Mahdī, (158-169/775-785). In order to have an end with the affair of Muqanna' and the wearers of "White Raiments" Mahdī sent horsemen. Bunyāt was seated in his castle in Farakhshā drinking wine with a company. He looked from an observation post and saw the horsemen from afar, who were rapidly approaching. He suspected that they were coming from the caliph. He was speculating on that when they came and, without speaking a word, drew their swords and cut off his head.† This was in the year 166/782 or 3. His company all dispersed and those horsemen returned. When the apostasy of Qutaiba ibn Ṭughshāda became evident, Abū Muslim killed him and gave his servants, estates, and property to his brother Bunyāt ibn Ṭughshāda,‡ (whose descendants) held them till the time of the amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī. After Bunyāt apostatized and was killed, this property went to the descendants of Bukhār Khudāh.

The last person, who (held and then) lost the estates, was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Khālīd ibn Bunyāt. Ibrāhīm\*\* lived in Bukhara and the kingdom was in his hands. Every year he sent part of the harvest of Transoxiana to his brother Naṣr whence it was dispatched to the Amīr of the Faithful, Muqtadir (*sic*), (295-320/908-932).\* Amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī took the estates and property away from him (Abū Ishāq) because Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Laith,<sup>45</sup> who was chief of police,† one day said to the amīr, "Oh amīr, from whom did Abū Ishāq obtain such fine property, with such a produce?" Amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī replied, "This is not (really) their property, but the property of the ruler." Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Laith said, "It is rightfully their property, but because of the apostasy‡ of their father the caliph took it from them and has made it the property of the public treasury. But he gave it back to them as a kind of lease and stipend.<sup>46</sup> He (Abū Ishāq) has not rendered service in recompense, but has considered the property as his own." They

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† Lykoshin, 17: he wanted to take precautions, but they —.

‡ E adds: When Bunyāt apostatized and was killed these estates and properties for the most part went to his children till the —.

\*\* D: Abū Ibrāhīm, i.e.—Isma'īl al-Sāmānī.

\* B and E: Mu'tadid (279-289/892-902).

† B adds: and head of finances.

‡ E: repeated apostasy.



(the amīr and Aḥmad) were talking when Abū Ishāq\*\* Ibrāhīm entered. Amīr Ismaʿīl Sāmānī said to him, "Oh Abū Ishāq, how much income do you receive each year from your property?" Abū Ishāq answered, "After much trouble and difficulty I receive 20,000 *dirhams* a year." Amīr Ismaʿīl ordered Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Laith to take this property and to tell Abu'l-Ḥasan the paymaster<sup>47</sup> to give him 20,000 *dirhams* a year. So the property passed from his hands and did not return to him. Abū Ishāq died in the year 301/913 or 14. His descendants have remained in the villages of Safna and Siyavunj.<sup>48</sup>

#### IV

##### *Bukhara and the places adjoining it*

Abu'l-Ḥasan Nishāpūrī in the book "The Treasury of the Sciences" has contended that the city of Bukhara, although the Oxus river (*sic*)<sup>49</sup> is in the middle of it, is one of the cities of Khurāsān. Karmīna is one of the villages of Bukhara, and its water comes from the water of Bukhara.<sup>50</sup> Its tax is counted with that of Bukhara, although it is a separate village and has a grand mosque.<sup>51</sup> It was the home of many litterateurs and poets. There is a saying that in ancient times Karmīna was called *Bādiya-i khurdak*.<sup>52</sup> It is fourteen parasangs from Bukhara to Karmīna.<sup>53</sup>

Nūr is a large place with a grand mosque.<sup>54</sup> It has many *ribāṭs*.<sup>55</sup> Every year the people of Bukhara and other places go there on pilgrimages. The people of Bukhara take great pains in this deed. The person who goes on the pilgrimage to Nūr has the same distinction as having performed the pilgrimage (to Mecca).<sup>\*</sup> When he returns the city is adorned with an arch because of returning from that blessed place. This Nūr is called the Nūr of Bukhara in other districts. Many of the followers of

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\*\* B, D, E: ibn Ibrāhīm.

\* B adds: It is a meeting place of the great saints of Allāh. Ḥadrat Khwāja 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujduvānī has a prayer stone at the head of the spring of Nūr. (There follows a short story about a minor miracle performed here.)



the Prophet are buried there. [May God be pleased with all of them till the day of judgment.]

Another village is Ṭawāīs, which is also called Arqūd.<sup>56</sup> In it lived people of wealth and luxury. Everyone had one or two peacocks in his home as a luxury. The Arabs had previously never seen peacocks. When they saw many peacocks there† they called the village "endowed with peacocks." Its original name was forgotten, and after a time the "endowed" was also discarded, so they called it Ṭawāīs.\* It has a grand mosque and the (walled) town is strong. In former times there used to be a fair<sup>57</sup> for ten days in the season of the month of Tīr.<sup>58</sup> The nature of that fair was such that all defective goods, such as curtains, covers, and other goods with defects, were sold in this fair. There was no way or means to return goods in the fair, for neither the seller nor the buyer would (return or) accept them back on any condition. Every year more than 10,000 people came to this fair, both merchants and buyers. They even came from Ferghāna, Chāch<sup>59</sup> and other places, and returned with much profit. Because of this the people of the village became rich, and the reason for that was not agriculture. It is located on the royal road to Samarqand, seven parasangs from Bukhara.

Iskijkat has a large citadel and its inhabitants are rich. The reason for their wealth is not agriculture for the land of this village, both the waste-land and cultivated, does not equal one thousand *jufts*.<sup>60</sup> Its inhabitants are all merchants. Much cloth comes from there. Every Thursday there is a market in that village. The village belongs to the ruler.† Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq bi'llāh (premier of the caliph 870-91) had given this village as a fief to Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir, who was the amīr of Khurāsān, (248-259/862-873). He, in turn, sold it to Sahl ibn Aḥmad al-Dāghūnī al-Bukhārī for a price.<sup>61</sup> The latter built a bath house there, and a large palace in a bend on the lower bank of the river. The remains of this palace existed (almost) to our time, and it was called the palace of Dāghūnī. Now the water of the river has destroyed that palace. The people of

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† So B, C, D, E, F; A has: in Bukhara.

\* B adds: In the desert is the Ribāt-i Malik.

† So B, C, D, F; A has: does not belong.



Iskijkat were tributary to this Sahl ibn Aḥmad Dāghūnī, and every year they paid 10,000 *dirhams* assessment on their homes. Then they withheld the tribute from this village two or three years, turned to the ruler and requested help from him. The heirs of Sahl\* ibn Aḥmad produced a document in the time of the amīr Ismaʿīl Sāmānī, who saw the deed and recognized its validity. But the law-suit dragged on a long time.† Men of distinction from the city were the mediators. A settlement was made between the people of the village and the heirs of Dāghūnī for 170,000 *dirhams*. Thus the inhabitants redeemed the village, and freed themselves from tribute, by paying the above-mentioned sum.

In this village there was no grand mosque till the time of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭamghāj Khān (ruled 460-72/1068-80).<sup>62</sup> Among the people of this village was a man of distinction called Khwānsālār.<sup>63</sup> He was an important man with many followers, and was one of the tax collectors of the ruler. He built a grand mosque of great beauty at his own expense and he spent a great sum of money on it. He performed the Friday prayer there. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Naṣr says that the reader of prayers in (the village of) Shargh told him that‡ the Friday prayer was no longer performed in that grand mosque; (for) after a time the *imāms* of Bukhara would not permit it, and they forbade the Friday prayer to be held there. The mosque remained abandoned on Fridays until Qadir Khān Jibraʿīl ibn ʿUmar ibn Ṭughrul Khān became the amīr of Bukhara, (492-495/1099-1102).<sup>64</sup> His name was Ṭughrul Bēk,<sup>65</sup> with the "nickname" of Kūlār Tekīn.†<sup>66</sup> He bought the wood of that mosque from the descendants of Khwānsālār. Then he destroyed the mosque and brought its wood to Bukhara and built a religious school with the wood, near the vegetable sellers' stalls. He spent a countless sum on the work. The religious

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\* E: Suhail.

† B adds: since witnesses were necessary.

‡ B adds: since the observance of Friday did not exist.

† O. Pritsak corrects this as follows: "sein [ursprünglicher Totem (Onghun)]—Titel [als Stammesoberhaupt] war Ṭughrul Beg, sein Ehrentitel war Kūl Är Tigin."



school was called the school of Kūlār Tekīn, and the remains of this amīr rest in that school.‡

The (village of) Shargh is opposite Iskiĵkat.<sup>67</sup> Between them is neither garden nor vacant lot but a large river called the Sāmjan river.<sup>68</sup> Now it is called the river of Shargh, while some call it Ḥarāmkām.<sup>69</sup> A large bridge existed over the river between the two villages. In the time of Arslān Khān Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān<sup>70</sup> the bridge was built very solidly of baked bricks at his order. In the village of Shargh there had never been a grand mosque (until) a grand mosque was built at his own expense. He (also) ordered a *ribāṭ* built on the Iskiĵkat side for the needy. The village has a large citadel which is comparable in size to the town. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far mentioned that they had a market here in the olden days, where every year for ten days in the winter people came from far districts to trade and bargain. The specialties of this place were almond sweets made with grape syrup, aloe gum,<sup>71</sup> wood,\*\* salted and fresh fish, and sheep and lamb skins. There was much trading. In our time there is a market every Friday and merchants come from the city and surrounding districts.<sup>72</sup> The specialties which come today from this village, which the merchants bring back to their districts, are brass and cotton cloth. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far said that the amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī bought this village and all of its fields and estates.\* He gave all as an endowment for the maintenance of a *ribāṭ* which he built by the Samarqand gate inside the city of Bukhara. At present that *ribāṭ* does not exist and the endowment also does not exist. Shargh and Iskiĵkat are the most beautiful suburbs of Bukhara; [may God the Exalted protect them].

Zandana has a great citadel, a large market place, and a grand mosque.<sup>73</sup> Every Friday the prayers are performed there, and there is trading (the same day).† The specialty of the place is Zandanījī, which is a kind of cloth made in Zandana.<sup>74</sup> It is fine cloth and is made in large quantities. Much of that cloth is

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‡ B adds: There is a great river there called the Sāmjan River. To-day it is called the river of Shargh.

\*\* B, E: vineyards.

\* D adds: with his own money.

† B adds: around the citadel is a moat.



woven in other villages of Bukhara, but it is also called Zandan-ijī because it first appeared in this village. That cloth is exported to all countries such as 'Irāq, Fārs, Kirmān, Hindūstān and elsewhere. All of the nobles and rulers make garments of it, and they buy it at the same price as brocade.

Vardāna is a large village with a large citadel and strong fortifications.<sup>75</sup> It was a stronghold of kings in ancient times, but it is no longer a royal residence. It is older than the city of Bukhara. It was built by king Shāpūr on the frontier of Turkistān. They have a market once a week at which there is a good deal of trading. Well-made Zandanijī also comes from there.

Afshina has a large town area and a strong fort, as well as suburbs.<sup>76</sup> One day a week they hold a market. The cultivated and waste lands of this village are an endowment for scholars. Qutaiba ibn Muslim built a grand mosque there and Muḥammad ibn Wāsi' also erected a\* mosque.<sup>77</sup> Prayers are answered in it, and people go from the city to seek blessing there.†

Barkad is an old and large village with a strong citadel.<sup>78</sup> This village is called Barkad of the 'Alids because the amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī bought this village and gave it as an endowment, one-third to the descendants of 'Alī and Ja'far,<sup>79</sup> a third to the poor,‡ and a third to his own heirs.

Rāmitīn has a large citadel and the village itself is strong.<sup>80</sup> It is older than the city of Bukhara. In some books it is even mentioned as Bukhara. In ancient times it was the residence of rulers, but when the city of Bukhara was founded the rulers passed only the winters in this village.<sup>81</sup> It was also thus in Islamic times. When Abū Muslim came to Bukhara he stayed in this village. Afrāsiyāb built it, and every time he came to this district he only stayed in this village.\*\* In the books of the Pārsīs it is recorded that Afrāsiyāb lived two thousand years, and that he

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\* B: another mosque.

† B adds: They say that Shaikh Abū 'Alī Sīnā was born in Afshina.

‡ B and E add: of Bukhara. D adds instead: who are Muslims.

\*\* B adds: They say that Afrāsiyāb had a daughter who continually had a headache. When she settled in Rāmitān (*sic*) she lost her headache for the weather favored this. The (place) was called "repose of the body" (*ārām-i tan*), (but) the common folk called it Rāmitān.



was a magician. He was one of the children of king Noah. It was he who killed his son-in-law, who was called Siyāvush.<sup>82</sup> Siyāvush had a son called Kai Khusrau who came with a large army to this country to avenge his father. Afrāsiyāb had made a fortress of the village of Rāmitīn. Kai Khusrau besieged\*\*\* the fortress with his army for two years, and opposite built a village which he called Rāmush because of its lovely surroundings.<sup>83</sup> This village is still inhabited. He built a fire-temple in the village of Rāmush, and the Magian priests say that this fire-temple is older\* than the fire temples of Bukhara.<sup>84</sup> After two years Kai Khusrau captured Afrāsiyāb and killed him. The tomb of Afrāsiyāb is located inside a gate of Bukhara at the gate of Ma'bad on that large hill which is adjacent to the hill of Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ the great.<sup>85</sup> There are special songs of the people on the killing of Siyāvush. The musicians called these songs *Kīn-i Siyāvush*.<sup>86</sup> Muḥammad ibn Ja'far says that from his time it was three thousand years ago; [God knows best].

Varakhsha is the largest of the villages.<sup>87</sup> It used to be as large as Bukhara but older. [In some manuscripts, in place of Varakhsha, Rajfundūn is written.]† It was once the residence of kings. It had strong fortifications because the rulers fortified it many times. Its walls were similar to the walls of Bukhara. Varakhsha has twelve irrigation ditches and is inside the outer walls of Bukhara. There was a palace in it, the beauty of which is told in a proverb.<sup>88</sup> It was built by a Bukhār Khudāh more than a thousand years ago. This palace had been destroyed and abandoned for many years when Khnk‡ Khudāh restored it.<sup>89</sup> It again fell into ruins, and again Bunyāt ibn Ṭughshāda, Bukhār Khudāh, rebuilt it in Islamic times and made his court there till he was killed in it. Amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī convoked the people of that village and said, "I shall give 20,000 *dirhams* and wood, and shall take care of the re-building of it. Part of the building is standing. You make a grand mosque out of this palace." The village people

\*\*\* B and E add: and fought in —.

\* D: the oldest fire temple in Transoxiana.

† This sentence is omitted in F, or placed elsewhere in B, D, E.

‡ B and E: Bukhār Khudāt; D: Kudāk.



did not want it, and said that a grand mosque was unnecessary and unreasonable for their village.\* So the palace existed till the time of the amīr Aḥmad ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismaʿīl al-Sāmānī. He brought the wood of that palace to the city and used it to build a mansion which he made at the gate of the fortress of Bukhara. Every (year) for fifteen days there is a market in this village, but when the market is at the end of the year they hold it for twenty days. The twenty-first day is then New Year's day, and they call it the New Year's day of the farmers. The farmers of Bukhara reckon from that (day) and count from it. The New Year's day of the Magians is five days later.<sup>90</sup>

Baikand is considered a city, and the people of Baikand do not like anyone to call Baikand a village.†<sup>91</sup> If a citizen of Baikand goes to Baghdad, and he is asked from whence he comes, he replies that he is from Baikand and not from Bukhara. It has a large grand mosque and prominent buildings. There were many *ribāts* around the gate of Baikand till the year 240/854-5. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far in his book asserted that Baikand had more than a thousand *ribāts* corresponding to the number of villages of Bukhara. The reason for this is that Baikand is an exceedingly lovely place. The people of every village built a *ribāt* there and settled a group. They sent them their living expenses from the village. In the winter, when the attacks of the infidels occurred, many people from every village gathered there to attack (the infidels).<sup>92</sup> Every group went to its own *ribāt*.

The people of Baikand were all merchants. They traded with *Chīn* and the sea and became very wealthy.<sup>93</sup> Qutaiba ibn Muslim had much difficulty in conquering it\* for it was well fortified. The (city proper) was called "the bronze city."<sup>94</sup> It is older than Bukhara and every ruler who was in this district made Baikand his residence. From Farab to Baikand is a desert of twelve parasangs, and the desert is sandy. Arslān Khān Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān (1102-1130) in his time ordered Baikand to be rebuilt. People assembled in it and built lovely

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\* B adds: since this is not Egypt.

† B adds: and they forbid one to call Baikand a village.

\* B adds: after they apostatized.



buildings there. The khāqān (Arslān) had a mansion built for himself with great difficulty as the water of the Ḥarāmkām flows there. Contiguous to Baikand are canebrakes and large pools (all of which) is called Pārgīn Firākh. It is also called Qarā Kūl.<sup>95</sup> I heard from reliable people that its size was twenty parasangs by one parasang. In the book *Masālik wa mamālik* it is stated that that place is called the Sāmjan Sea, where the excess water of Bukhara collects.<sup>96</sup> In it are water animals, and nowhere in all of Khurāsān can such a quantity of fowl and fish be found as here. Arslān Khān ordered a special canal dug to Baikand† so that running water could reach the fountains of its buildings. For the water of the Ḥarāmkām‡ sometimes flows there and sometimes not. Baikand is situated on top of a hill, but it is not high. The khāqān ordered a canal dug in this hill. The stone was found to be so hard that there were no fissures in it. During this task they were amazed for donkey-loads of grease and vinegar were expended to make the rock softer, yet they were unable to dig more than one parasang. Many people perished (there). After much energy and material had been expended it was abandoned. The story of the conquest of Baikand will be told in its place if God the Exalted permits.

Farab is counted as a city with separate suburbs.<sup>97</sup> From the bank of the Oxus river to Farab is one parasang. When the water rises it comes half-way,\* and sometimes all the way to the city of Farab. Farab has a large grand mosque, the walls and roof of which are made of baked bricks, so there is no wood in it. There was an amīr in this city who did not find it necessary to come to Bukhara for any reason. There was also a judge who gave judgments with the injustice of Shaddād.<sup>98</sup> The number of villages of Bukhara is great, and we have mentioned only that group which is older and more famous than the rest.

## V

### *Account of the ʿtirāz (textile) workshop which was in Bukhara*

In Bukhara there was a workshop between the fortifications

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† B adds: from Āmūya.

‡ In margin of B: Ḥarāmkām is called the Zarafshān River.

\* B: half a parasang.



and the town proper, near the grand mosque, in which carpets and door-hangings were woven. Yazdī cloth,\* cushions, prayer rugs, and hazel-colored robes for the use of the caliph were woven (all of such value)† that the tax on Bukhara could be spent for one door-hanging.<sup>99</sup> From Baghdad every year there came a special tax-collector, and whatever was the tax of Bukhara, he took that amount in these textiles‡ instead.<sup>100</sup> It happened that this workshop was abandoned, and the people who plied this trade dispersed. In the city of Bukhara there were artisans who were specialists in this work. Merchants came from various places and carried those cloths, just as they brought Zandanījī, to Syria, Egypt, and the cities of Rūm (Byzantine Empire). They did not weave it in any other city of Khurāsān. It was surprising that when some of the people of this craft went to Khurāsān and manufactured the tools of this craft, and wove that material, still it did not compare in elegance and quality (to that of Bukhara). There was not a king, amīr, chieftain, or functionary who did not wear clothes of this material, made in red, white, and green colors.\*\* Today Zandanījī is everywhere more famous than that material.

## VI

### *An account of the bazar of Mākh*

In Bukhara there was a bazar called the bazar of [the day of]\* Mākh.<sup>101</sup> Twice a year for one day there was a fair, and every time there was this fair idols were sold in it. Every day more than 50,000 *dirbams* were exchanged (for the idols). Muḥammad ibn Ja'far has mentioned in his book that this fair existed in his time, and he was very astonished that it should be allowed. He asked the elders and shaikhs of Bukhara the reason for this. They said that the inhabitants of Bukhara in

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\* D: curtains.

† B: from time to time.

‡ B adds: from this factory.

\*\* B adds: and some were of various (colors); those they called *ilāja*.

\* Om. in B, F.



olden times had been idol-worshippers. They were permitted to have this fair, and from that time they have sold idols in it. It has remained thus till today. Abu'l-Hasan Nishāpūrī in his book "The Treasury of the Sciences," says that in Bukhara in ancient times was a king who was called Mākh.<sup>102</sup> He ordered this market to be built. He ordered carpenters and painters to prepare idols each year. On a certain day they appeared in the bazar and sold the idols, and people bought them. When their idol was lost, broken, or old, the people bought another when the day of the fair came. Then the old one was thrown away. That place, which today is the grand mosque of Mākh, was a grove on the river bank. There were many trees, and the fair was held in the shade of those trees. That king came to this fair and sat on a throne in the place which is today the mosque of Mākh to encourage the people to buy idols. Everyone bought an idol for himself and brought it home. Afterwards this place became a fire-temple. On the day of the fair, when the people had gathered, all went into the fire-temple and worshipped fire.† The fire-temple existed to the time of Islam when the Muslims seized power and built a mosque on that place. Today it is one of the esteemed mosques of Bukhara.

## VII

### *Regarding the names of Bukhara*

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says that Bukhara has many names. In his book he calls it Numijkat.\*<sup>103</sup> In another place I saw Būmiskat mentioned. In another place it is written in Arabic *madinat al-ṣufriya*, i.e.—"the copper city," and in another place, also in Arabic, *madinat al-tujjār*, i.e.—"the city of merchants." But the name Bukhara is known more than all the others. In Khurāsān there is no other city with so many names. There has come down in one tradition the name *Fākhira* for Bukhara.<sup>104</sup> Khwāja Imām, the hermit (and) preacher, related (to) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Nūjābādī<sup>105</sup> a tradition from

† E adds: and then they came out, bought an idol and went home.

\* A has Nīmjkāt; E has Nmījkāt. I choose C here.



Salmān Fārsī [may God be pleased with him], who said, 'The Prophet of God said that Gabriel told him that in the land of the East was a country called Khurāsān. On the Judgement Day three cities of Khurāsān will be adorned with red rubies and coral, and their radiance shall shine about them. Around these cities will be many angels praising, glorifying, and exalting God. They will bring forth these cities in grandeur and pomp onto the plains, as a bride who is brought into the house of her betrothed. In each of these cities will be 70,000 banners and under each banner 70,000 martyrs. In the retinue of each martyr will be 70,000 believers, speaking Persian and receiving salvation. On the Judgement Day on every side of these cities to the right and left, front and rear, for ten days† journey it will be filled with martyrs.<sup>106</sup> The Prophet said, 'Oh Gabriel tell me the names of these cities.' Gabriel replied, 'The name of one of these cities in Arabic is Qāsimīya and in Persian Yishkard.<sup>107</sup> The second in Arabic is Sumrān, in Persian Sam-arqand.<sup>108</sup> The third in Arabic is Fākhira, and in Persian Bukhara.' The Prophet asked, 'Oh Gabriel why is it called Fākhira?' He replied, 'Because on the Judgement Day Bukhara shall excel all other cities in glory because of the multitude of martyrs (buried there).' The Prophet cried, 'God bless (the people of) Fākhira and purify their hearts by the fear of God; improve their actions\* and make them among the merciful of my people.' " The significance of that is: from east to west† it is attested that the people of Bukhara are noted for their compassion, faith, and cleanliness (of thought).<sup>109</sup>

## VIII

### *The story of the building of the citadel of Bukhara*

Concerning the marvels of that (citadel), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr said that Abu'l-Ḥasan Nīshāpūrī in the

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† B and D: two.

\* B: remember their deeds.

† B adds: in every land and place.



“Treasury of the Sciences” has mentioned that the reason for the building of the citadel of Bukhara was that Siyāvush ibn Kaikāūs fled from his father, crossed the Oxus, and came to Afrāsiyāb. Afrāsiyāb treated him kindly and gave him his daughter for a wife. Some have said he gave him all of his domain.\* Siyāvush wanted to leave some memorial of himself in this district which had been given in loan to him. So he built this citadel of Bukhara and usually resided there. But when he and Afrāsiyāb became estranged† Afrāsiyāb killed him. He was buried in this citadel in a place (located) as you come from the Eastern gate inside the gate of the straw-sellers, which is called the gate of the Ghūriyān. The Magians of Bukhara for that reason esteemed this place.‡ Every year before the rising of the sun, on New Year’s day, every person (brings) a cock there and kills it (in memory)\*\* of him.<sup>110</sup> The people of Bukhara have lamentations concerning the killing of Siyāvush which are known all over. Musicians have made songs out of them and they sing them. Singers call them the “lamentations of the Magians.”<sup>111</sup> This story is older than three thousand years. So this citadel, according to tradition, was built by him (Siyāvush). Others say that Afrāsiyāb built it. It fell into ruins and remained so for many years.

When Bīdūn\* Bukhār Khudāh became ruler—the one whom we have mentioned as the husband of Khātūn and as father of Ṭughshāda—he sent a person (who) rebuilt the citadel and the palace which had formerly existed.† He wrote his name on an iron plate and affixed it to the gate of that palace. It remained on the door of the palace till the time of the translator (of this book, i.e. 1128).<sup>112</sup> Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Naṣr says that when the fortress was destroyed the door was also

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\* D: half of his domain.

† B and E add: Grshīvz, brother of Afrāsiyāb said bad words.

‡ B adds: they called his grave the shrine of Siyāvush.

\*\* B adds: and makes a vow.

\* B, D, E: Bndūn.

† B has: When Bndūn became ruler he sent a person to the husband of that Khātūn, whose name was Bukhār Khudāh and (was) the father of Ṭughshāda, and requested permission to build. Bukhār Khudāh gave permission and aid and built this citadel.



destroyed. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr further mentioned that Muḥammad ibn Ja'far and Abu'l-Ḥasan Nīshāpūrī said that when Bīdūn\*\* Bukhār Khudāh built this palace, it fell apart. So he rebuilt it, and again it was destroyed. Several times he rebuilt it but it collapsed each time. He convened the wise men and asked their advice. They agreed that if the castle were built according to the figure of the constellation of the Great Bear in the sky, with seven‡ stone pillars in that form, it would not be destroyed. Another strange thing is that from the time this castle was built, there was no ruler of it who was ever defeated in it. He was always victorious. Another oddity is that since the time it was built no ruler has died in it, neither pagan nor Muslim. When the time of the death of the ruler was near, some reason would impel him to come out of that castle and he would die in another place. From the time of its construction to the destruction of the castle it was so.<sup>113</sup>

The fortress has two gates, one the eastern, the other the western.<sup>114</sup> The eastern gate is called the gate of the Ghūriyān, and the western gate is called the gate of the Rīgistān. To the time of the translator (of this book) it was called the gate of the "forage sellers." A road ran from one gate to the other through the middle of the fortress. The fortress was the place of residence of rulers, amīrs, and generals. It was also a prison, and a chancellery, while the castle was the residence of the rulers.<sup>115</sup> In olden times the harem and treasury were also in it. In the time of the translator this fortress was in ruins. Several years later Arslān Khān ordered it rebuilt\* and made it his residence. He made a great amīr the keeper of the fortress to guard it according to instructions. This fortress had a great reputation in the eyes of the people.

When the Khwārazmshāh arrived in Bukhara in the year 534/1139 or 40, the amīr Zangī (ibn) 'Alī was the viceregent.<sup>116</sup> He was governor of Bukhara by order of Sultan Sanjar. (The Khwārazmshāh) seized him and killed him, and destroyed the fortress. It remained ruined for two years till 536/1141-2 when

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\*\* B, D, E: Bndūn.

‡ B: with the same order of stone pillars —.

\* B adds: and it was built finer than what it had been.



Alptekīn† became viceroy for Gūr Khān.<sup>117</sup> In this year he ordered the fortress rebuilt and made it his residence. The fortress was better than it had been before. In the month of Ramaḍān of 538 (March 1144; *sic* 548/1153) the Ghuzz army came to Bukhara.<sup>118</sup> ‘Aīn‡ al-Daula Qarācha Bēk, and Shihāb Vezīr were besieged. After a struggle\*\* and great tribulation the Ghuzz army took the fortress and killed Shihāb Vezīr. They destroyed the fortress and it remained in ruins. When in the year 560/1164-5 they wanted to raise walls for Bukhara, baked bricks were necessary for the foundation of the wall. The foundation and the towers of (the fortress), which had been made of baked bricks, were demolished, and they used (those bricks) for the walls of Bukhara. The fortress was completely destroyed and no trace or sign of it remained. In the year 604/1207-8 the Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad ibn Sultān Tekesh\* conquered Bukhara and rebuilt the fortress. The Khitāyāns† were vanquished, but in 616/1219-20 the Tātār army under its leader Chinghīz Khān came and fought twelve‡ days at the gate of the fortress.<sup>119</sup> They captured and destroyed it.

## IX

*The residences of the rulers who were in Bukhara*

The area from the western gate of the fortress of Bukhara to the gate of Ma'bad is called the Rīgistān. In this Rīgistān were the residences of the rulers in ancient times and in the "Time of Ignorance."<sup>120</sup> In the era of the Sāmānids, the amīr Sa'īd Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl al-Sāmānī (301-331/913-943) ordered a court\* erected in the Rīgistān. A very fine court was built which required much expense. Near the gate of his court

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† B: Subuktekīn; E: Īmantekīn.

‡ B: Yamīn (*sic*).

\*\* B and E: without difficulty.

\* B and D: Tekīn.

† B: Khiyātān; E: Khiyān.

‡ B and D: ten.

\* B adds: and fine buildings.



he ordered a building erected for the officials so that each functionary had a separate bureau in his court. At the gate of the sultan's court were the bureau of the prime minister, the bureau of the treasurer, the bureau of the chief of the guards, the bureau of the postmaster,† bureau of the chief of protocol, bureau of the private lands of the ruler, bureau of the chief of (the municipal) police, bureau of religious endowments, and bureau of the judges.<sup>121</sup> He ordered the bureaus erected in such an arrangement.‡ In the time of the amīr Rashīd ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma‘īl (343-350/954-961), his prime minister Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn al-‘Utbi (*sic*), author of the book *Kitāb-i yamīnī*<sup>122</sup> whose grave is in the quarter of the Maṣṣūr Gate in the vicinity of the Khān's bath house, built a wonderful mosque opposite the religious school. As a result (the beauty of) that place was enhanced by this mosque. When the amīr Rashīd<sup>123</sup> fell from his horse and died, at night his slaves entered his court and engaged in plundering. The ruler's favorites and slave girls quarreled and the court caught fire. Everything burned including every beautiful object of gold and silver; all was destroyed so that not a trace remained of the buildings. When the amīr Sadīd Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ became king in the month of Shawwāl of the year 350 (November 961), he ordered those courts rebuilt beside Jūy-i Mūliyān. Everything which had been destroyed and lost was made better than before, and the amīr Sadīd (Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ 350-366/961-977) lived in the court.

Now a year had not passed when, in an evening of celebration according to ancient custom, a large fire was started.<sup>124</sup> Sparks of the fire fell on the roof of the court which again was completely burned. The amīr Sadīd went in the night to Jūy-i Mūliyān<sup>125</sup> (and ordered the prime minister)\* to bring out all of the treasures and hidden riches. He carried them out and sent them in the hands of his confidential followers to Jūy-i Mūliyān. When it became day it was found that nothing had

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† Text has *mu'yid* "helper," but a MS in St. Petersburg has *barid* "post," which I have assumed here, from Lykoshin.

‡ B adds: so that each *divān* had its own place and worked apart.

\* A omits; B, C, D, E, F have this phrase.



been lost save one gold cup. His prime minister had another one made at his own expense. Its weight was seven hundred *mithqāl*,† and he sent it to the treasury. From that time this place remained in ruins and it became the Rīgistān.

Another royal court in Jūy-i Mūliyān was a most lovely place similar to paradise.‡ There was no other place or residence like Jūy-i Mūliyān in Bukhara because all of it was filled with courts, gardens, parks, flower gardens, and water flowing constantly through its lawns. The ditches intersected with one another and flowed in a thousand directions to the lawns and flower gardens. Everyone who viewed the flowing water wondered from whence it came and whither it went. The artisans of the rarities of the age and the architects have created such a marvel.<sup>126</sup> A prominent person has said,\*

"The water of life† entered the park and with regret forsook it. It uttered sighs because it had to leave this garden."

Another court extends from the gate of the Rīgistān to Dashtak, with all the houses symmetrical, wonderfully decorated in stone, with resthouses with paintings on them, four lovely gardens, beautiful fountains, and elm trees. A pavilion existed, so constructed that no ray of the sun, from the rising in the east to the setting in the west, ever fell on the pond. In these four gardens different species and kinds of fruit, such as pears, almonds, hazel-nuts, cherries, grapes, and every fruit which exists in the amber-perfumed paradise, exist also here, the best and the loveliest.

## X

### *Jūy-i Mūliyān and a description of it*

In ancient times the estates of Jūy-i Mūliyān belonged to the king, Ṭughshāda. He gave every one of his children and sons-in-law a share. The amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī bought these es-

† Weight of a dram and a half.

‡ Text unclear in all MSS. With B, D, E, F, I insert *mithl* after *bihisht*.

\* B has: *sāhib dīlī* "a pious man," for *daulatī* "rich," or "prominent" as above.

† F: *khandān* "laughing."



tates from Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭālūt,<sup>127</sup> who was a general of al-Mustaʿīn ibn al-Muʿtaṣim (caliph 248-251/862-865). The amīr Ismaʿīl built courts and gardens in Jūy-i Mūliyān, and, gave most of them as endowments to his clients,\* and the endowments still exist.<sup>128</sup> He was always showing concern for his clients. One day the amīr Ismaʿīl was looking from the fortress of Bukhara towards Jūy-i Mūliyān. Sīmāʾl-Kabīr,<sup>129</sup> client of his father, whom the amīr very much loved and esteemed, was standing near him. The amīr Ismaʿīl said, "Will it ever be that God the Exalted will give me an opportunity to buy these estates for you? Will He give me life till I see that these estates become yours?† For these estates are the most valuable, the loveliest, and with the best air, of all the estates of Bukhara." God the Exalted made it his fortune to buy all. He gave them to his clients, so that it was called Jūy-i Mawālīyān, but the common people called it Jūy-i Mūliyān.

Adjacent to the fortress of Bukhara is a plain which is called Dashtak.<sup>130</sup> All of it used to be canebrake. The amīr Ismaʿīl also bought that place from Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭālūt for 10,000 *dirhams*. In the first year he received 10,000 *dirhams* from the sale of the cane. The amīr Ismaʿīl made that place an endowment for a grand mosque. After the amīr Ismaʿīl, whosoever became amīr among his descendants, he built gardens and villas for himself in Jūy-i Mūliyān, because of its loveliness, pleasantness, and cheerfulness.

By the new gate is a place called the Kārak-i 'Alawiyān\* (the tillage of the 'Alids). The amīr Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ (961-77) built a villa there of surpassing beauty, so that a proverb was made regarding its beauty.† It was built in the year 356/967. This estate of Kārak-i 'Alawiyān was royal property till the time of Naṣr Khān‡ [ibn] Ṭamghāj Khān, (460-72/1068-80), who gave this property to scholars because it was near the city and farming would be easier for the students of religious law.

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\* B: to the doctors of law.

† D adds: Now I cannot buy these estates for 10,000 *dirhams*.

\* D: Kādk.

† B adds: and its pleasant (area), good climate which has no equal.

‡ B adds: ibn Ibrāhīm.



In exchange he (Naṣr) took land farther from the city. Jūy-i Mūliyān and Kārak-i 'Alawiyān were occupied till the end of the rule of the Sāmānids when their dominion was lost and those courts went to ruin. In Bukhara there was no fixed imperial residence, but only the citadel, till the time of King Shams al-Mulk Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭamghāj Khān who built Shamsābād.

## XI

### *Regarding the building of Shamsābād*

King Shams al-Mulk\* bought many estates at the gate of Ibrāhīm.<sup>131</sup> They were about half a parasang from the gate of the (public) garden.† He made gardens of surpassing beauty. He spent much money and wealth on the buildings there and gave the area the name "Shamsābād."<sup>132</sup> Adjacent to Shamsābād he made a meadow for the imperial horses which he called Ghūruq.<sup>133</sup> He enclosed the place with strong walls a mile (flight of an arrow) long. In it he built a castle and a pigeon house.<sup>134</sup> In that Ghūruq he had wild animals such as antelope, deer, foxes, and‡ wild boar, and all were trained (there). The walls around it were so high that they were unable to escape. When king Shams al-Mulk\* died his brother Khidr Khān ascended the throne. He ordered many buildings of great beauty erected in Shamsābād. After he also died his son Aḥmad Khān became ruler.<sup>135</sup> He did not preserve Shamsābād so it fell into ruins.

When Malikshāh came from Khurāsān and arrived at Bukhara, he caused a great deal of damage. When he came to Samarqand he captured Aḥmad Khān and brought him to Khurāsān. Then he sent him back to Transoxiana. Since Shamsābād had been completely destroyed he ordered a court built for himself at Jūibār. He installed running water and whatever was elaborate in the garden. That court was the seat of government of Bukhara for a period of thirty years. When Arslān Khān became

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\* B, D, E, F: Shams al-Dīn.

† This sentence is omitted in B, C, E, F.

‡ D adds: wolves.



ruler (495/1102) every time he was in Bukhara he stayed in this court.\*\* After a time he thought it wise to order the court dismantled and carried inside the citadel. The site remained in ruins. Several years later Arslān Khān ordered a court built in the area of the little gate in the district of Bū Laith. In it he ordered an imperial bath constructed. Another bath which had no equal was at the gate of the court. The court was the seat of government of Bukhara for many years. Later he ordered the court changed into a school for students of religious law. The bath, which was at the gate of the court, as well as several villages were given as an endowment to that school. He ordered a special court for himself built at the gate of Sa'dābād.\*<sup>136</sup>

## XII

### *The Clan of Kashkatha*

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Narshakhī has mentioned in his book that when Qutaiba ibn Muslim entered Bukhara and took possession of it, he ordered the people of Bukhara to give one-half of their houses and estates to the Arabs. In Bukhara there was a clan which was called the Kashkathān.<sup>137</sup> They were an honored group possessing power and dignity, and they enjoyed great respect among the people of Bukhara. They were not\* (originally) *dihqāns*, but of foreign origin. They were, however, a good family, traders, and rich. When Qutaiba solicited a division of their houses and possessions, they gave all of their houses and possessions to the Arabs† and then constructed seven hundred villas outside the town.<sup>138</sup> At that time the whole city was only the size which the inner town is now. Everyone built houses for his servants and followers around his villa, and also made a garden and park at the gate of his villa.<sup>139</sup> Then one moved out to the villa. They have fallen into ruins today

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\*\* B adds: which was in Jūibār.

\* D: Sa'idābād.

\* D adds: and they were not Arabs; E has: old *dihqāns*.

† B adds: and the Arabs took possession.



and, for the most part, have become part of the city. Only two or three villas, called the villas of the Magians, remained in that place. Magians lived there. There were (many) fire temples of the Magians in this district, (and at the gates of the villas of the Magians) were fine and pleasant (gardens).‡ Their estates were of great value.<sup>140</sup>

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far has recorded that he heard that in the reign of the amīr Ḥamīd (331-343/943-954) the estates of the villas of the Magians became expensive because the rulers of Bukhara settled there and the followers and intimates of the sovereign wished to buy the estates. So the price of one *juft* of these estates became 4,000 *dirhams*. When this information reached the amīr\* he said that it was known to him. "Before the rulers moved to Bukhara the price of these lands was higher. If a person wanted a piece of land which a pair of oxen could work, he was unable to (find it) during the course of a year.† If he were able to buy it he had to pay 12,000 *dirhams* weight of silver for every *juft*. Now the price is cheap, since every *juft* of land is 4,000 *dirhams* weight of silver, which (means) the people have less money." Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Naṣr says that in his time the estates of the villas of the Magians were such that they were given gratis, but no one wanted them. Whatever was bought was obtained in vain because of the oppression and lack of clemency for the people.

### XIII

#### *An account of the canals\* of Bukhara and its surroundings*

First there is the canal of Karmīna which is large. The second is Shāpūrkām, which the common folk of Bukhara call Shāfurkām. It is told in a story that one of the sons of Kisrā, of the house of Sāsān, provoked the anger of his father and

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‡ The sections in parentheses have been added from B, C, E, F.

\* E adds: of Bukhara.

† Lykoshin: in the course of an entire year he could not find a desirable lot for sale.

\* i.e. *rūd* "stream." I use "canal," cf. below.



came to this district. His name was Shāpūr, and *pūr* in the Persian language means "son." When he arrived in Bukhara the Bukhār Khudāh showed him honor. Shāpūr liked to hunt. One day he went hunting and came to this district. At that time there was neither village there nor cultivated field but it was pasture land. The hunting area pleased him. He requested it as a fief from Bukhār Khudāh in order to make it an inhabited locality. The Bukhār Khudāh gave him that place. Shāpūr dug a great canal and gave it his name, i.e.—Shāpūr-kām. He built villages and a palace on that canal. The locality is called "the villages of Abūya."<sup>141</sup> He built the village of Vardāna and a castle, and made that place his residence. A great domain developed there, and at his death those villages remained with his children as an inheritance until the time Qutaiba ibn Muslim came to Bukhara. Vardān Khudāh was one of the children of Shāpūr, and he was a great ruler. He lived in the village of Vardāna and struggled with Ṭughshāda Bukhār Khudāh.<sup>142</sup> Qutaiba also fought much with him. Finally Vardān Khudāh died and Qutaiba gave the kingdom of Bukhara to Ṭughshāda. This story will be told in the account of the conquest of Baikand and Bukhara.

The third canal is called the upper Kharqāna, and the fourth Kharqān *rūd*. The fifth is called 'Āū Khitfar, and is very large and imposing. The sixth is called Sāmjan,\* the seventh Baikān. The eighth is called upper Farāvāz, and along this stream are many villages. The ninth is lower Farāvāz† also called Kām Daimūn. The tenth is called Arvān, and the eleventh Kaifur. The twelfth is called the "river of gold," which flows into the river of the city.‡ Every stream I have mentioned has many villages and much water. It is said that all the canals were dug by man, except the 'Āū Khitfar canal, which has dug its own path without the efforts of the people of that\*\* place. Now the people of Bukhara call it the river of *nafr*.<sup>143</sup>

\* D adds: and this is also large.

† B: Farāvīz.

‡ Lykoshin, 44: "this canal brings water to the city." B and E say this of the ninth.

\*\* B adds: and this river flows to Zandana and its environs where it is dispersed. Its source is in the mountains.



## XIV

*Regarding the land tax of Bukhara and its suburbs*

In the time of the Sāmānid dynasty and the Sāmānī amīrs it\* was 1,168,566 *dirhams* and five and one-half *dāngs*, including the tax of Karmīna.<sup>144</sup> Later, everywhere the tax was lightened.† Some estates were inundated by water so the government removed the tax from them. The tax was also deducted from those places which had been ruined by water. Some (of the land) went into the hands of the ‘Alīds and scholars (of religious law). The government remitted the taxes from these as well. Some estates became imperial property and their taxes were erased from the registry. Such was Baikand and many other localities. The tax of Karmīna was separated from that of Bukhara.<sup>145</sup>

## XV

*The wall of Bukhara which the people call the wall of Kanpirak<sup>146</sup>*

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (ibn) Naṣr says Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far al-Narshakhī did not mention this chapter in this order but mentioned some of it in the middle of his account. Abu’l-Ḥasan Nīshāpūrī in “The Treasury of the Sciences,” however,\* mentioned it in this order. When the caliphate passed to the Amīr of the Faithful Mahdī, (158-169/775-785) the father of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and none of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs was more pious than he, he gave the governorship of all of Khurāsān to Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Faḍl ibn Sulaimān Ṭūsī in the year 166/782 or 3.<sup>147</sup> The latter went to Merv and resided there.

Then the chiefs, lords, and nobles of Bukhara went to him. All of the nobles of Sughd also went to Merv to hail the new governor of Khurāsān. He inquired into the condition of their

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\* B adds: the tax of Bukhara.

† This word, *kam*, is found in all MSS and obviously fell from the Tehran edition by mistake.

\* B adds: discussed it and —.



district. The people of Bukhara said, "We suffer from the infidel Turks who continually come without warning† and plunder the villages. Now they recently came and plundered the village of Sāmdūn and carried off Muslims into captivity." Abu'l-'Abbās Ṭūsī said, "Is there anything you recommend I do?" Yazīd ibn Ghūrak, king of Sughd,<sup>148</sup> was there and said, "Long live the amīr of Khurāsān! In olden times, in the 'Time of Ignorance,' the Turks used to plunder the district of Sughd. A woman was ruler in Sughd.<sup>149</sup> She constructed walls around Sughd and the district obtained respite from the Turks."<sup>150</sup> Abu'l-'Abbās Ṭūsī ordered Muhtadī ibn Ḥamād ibn 'Amr al-Dhahlī, who was his amīr of Bukhara, to build walls for Bukhara so that all of the villages of Bukhara would be inside those walls, similar to Samarqand, so the Turks could not enter the district of Bukhara.<sup>151</sup> Muhtadī ibn Ḥamād ordered the wall built, and a gate constructed at every parasang, and every half mile a strong fort. Sa'd ibn Khalaf al-Bukhārī\* [God show him mercy], who was a judge in Bukhara, superintended this work till the time of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Manṣūr ibn Haljad ibn Warraq.† It was completed in the year 215/830. Every succeeding amīr ordered more construction and took care of it. This represented a great trouble and expense to the people of Bukhara, for every year much money and a large labor force were necessary.<sup>151a</sup> So it was till the time of the amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī, who‡ freed the people of this burden. The wall fell into ruins. He said, "While I live, I am the wall of the district of Bukhara." That which he claimed he performed. He constantly fought in person and did not allow the foe victory in the province of Bukhara.

## XVI

### *Regarding the (inner) wall of Bukhara*<sup>152</sup>

The people of Bukhara, through Aḥmad ibn Khālīd,<sup>153</sup> who

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† B adds: from Turkistān.

\* B: Mukhalif al-Yamīnī; D: al-Bahlī.

† B and D: Rzq.

‡ B adds: ordered them to be free.



was the amīr of Bukhara, made a request to the amīr of Khurāsān, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Ṭalḥa of the Ṭāhirids (248-259/862-873), that a wall was necessary so they might lock the gates at night and remain in safety from thieves and highwaymen. So he ordered a very fine, strong wall built, and towers were erected and gates built. It was finished in 235/849 or 50.<sup>154</sup> A new addition was made to this wall every time an army advanced on Bukhara. Arslān Khān, in his time, ordered another wall built in front of the old wall. Both were joined and strengthened. That one also fell into ruins. In the year 560/1165, the just and wise khāqān, support of the world and religion, Mas‘ūd Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān (566-574/1170-1178), may God illumine his grave, ordered a wall erected outside of the old wall of the city of Bukhara.<sup>155</sup> Again it fell into ruins. In the year 560/1165 (*sic*—604/1207) the Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad ibn Sultān Tekesh conquered Bukhara and ordered the wall rebuilt and a rampart erected. Both were built anew. In the year 616/1219 the Tātār army came and conquered the city, and the walls again fell into ruins.

## XVII

### *An account of the minting of dirhams and silver in Bukhara*<sup>156</sup>

The first person who coined silver in Bukhara was a ruler named Kānā Bukhār Khudāh. He ruled Bukhara thirty years. In Bukhara trading was done with cotton cloth and wheat.\* He was informed that in other countries silver money was coined, so he too ordered coins struck in Bukhara of pure silver, and he ordered his image with a crown be put on them. This was in the time of the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful Abū Bakr (al)-Ṣiddīq [God be pleased with him].† So it was till the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd when Ghiṭrīf ibn ‘Aṭā became the amīr of Khurāsān in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 185 (September 801). This Ghiṭrīf was the brother of the mother

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\* B adds: at first.

† B adds: The Arabs had not yet crossed the Oxus.



of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His (Hārūn's) mother was called Khaizurān, the daughter of 'Aṭā from the city of Yemen which is called Jurash.† She was taken prisoner in Ṭabaristān and from there was brought to the caliph al-Mahdī who had two sons by her. One was Mūsā al-Hādī and the second was Hārūn al-Rashīd. After Khaizurān had reached such a high position Ghiṭrīf came to her (from Yemen) and remained with her.\*\* Hārūn al-Rashīd gave him (the governorship) of Khurāsān.

At that time the coins of Khwārazm were in circulation among the people, but they took those coins with reluctance. The money of Bukhara had disappeared among the people. When Ghiṭrīf ibn 'Aṭā came to Khurāsān, the notables and leaders of Bukhara went to him and requested that since they had no silver left in the city, the amīr of Khurāsān should order money coined for them from the same die as was used for the coins of Bukhara in ancient times. "The coins should be (such) that no one would take them from us nor out of the city, so we can carry on trading among ourselves with (this) money." At that time silver was expensive. Then the people of the city were assembled and their opinion asked on this matter. They agreed that money should be struck of six things: gold, silver, brass, tin, iron, and copper. So it was done. They struck coins with the former die, with the name Ghiṭrīf, i.e.—Ghiṭrīfī money. The common people called them Ghidrīfī. The old coins had been made of pure silver, but this money, which was struck in alloy, became black, and the people of Bukhara would not accept it. The ruler became angry with them and they took the money by compulsion. The exchange was established at six Ghidrīfīs for one *dirham's* weight of pure silver. The government accepted it at this rate (for taxes) so that it became current. Because of this the tax of Bukhara became heavy. The tax of Bukhara in olden times was 200,000 silver *dirhams*, or a little less. After Ghidrīfīs were struck and became current at six for a *dirham's* weight of silver, the government compelled the people to pay (taxes) in Ghidrīfīs. When the

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† B, D, E: Khdash.

\*\* B: when the children of Khaizurān were grown, this Ghiṭrīf, who was their uncle, came to them from Yemen.



Ghidrifī became dear, and it turned out that the Ghidrifī *dirham* became equivalent to the silver *dirham*, the government refused to accept the silver *dirhams*, but demanded the Ghidrifīs. The tax of Bukhara, which was something less than 200,000 silver *dirhams*, at once came to 1,(1)68, 567 Ghidrifī *dirhams*.

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far relates that in the year two hundred and twenty (one hundred) *dirhams* of pure silver equalled eighty-five Ghidrifī *dirhams*. Aḥmad ibn Naṣr says that in the year 522/1128, when he translated this book, one hundred pure silver *dirhams* equalled seventy Ghidrifī *dirhams*. A red gold *mithqāl* was equal to seven and one-half Ghidrifī *dirhams*.

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far stated that this Ghidrifī was coined in the castle of Mākhak in the city of Bukhara. The Ghidrifī coin contains more of silver than of the other alloys. It is said that there is a grain of gold in each *dirham*, and in every ten *dirhams* (*sic*) it is found in the amount from half a *dirham's* weight to four and one-half *dāng*. Many [of the copper coins called] *'adlī* (and) *pishīz* were struck in Bukhara by everyone of the Sāmānid dynasty, and of other rulers after the Sāmānids. This has not been mentioned for there is nothing astonishing in that.

## XVIII

### *The beginning of the conquest of Bukhara*

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far has related that when Mu'āwiya sent 'Ubaidallāh (ibn) Ziyād to Khurāsān (governor 53-56/673-676), the latter crossed the Oxus and came to Bukhara.<sup>157</sup> The ruler of Bukhara was Khātūn because her son Ṭughshāda was young. 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād took Baikand and Rāmitīn and many prisoners.\* He took four thousand Bukharan prisoners (as slaves) for himself. This was at the end of the year 53/673 and the beginning of the year 54/674. When he came to the city of Bukhara he drew up his ranks and arranged the war engines. Khātūn sent a person to the Turks to ask their aid. She also sent a person to 'Ubaidallāh (ibn) Ziyād asking for a

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\* B, D add: and gold.



seven days' truce. She acknowledged, "I am in your power," and sent many gifts. When help did not come in seven days she sent gifts again and asked for seven days more.

An army of Turks arrived and other (forces) assembled so the army became numerous. They fought much but finally the infidels were put to flight and the Muslims pursued them, killing many. Khātūn returned to her fortress, and the troops returned to their countries. The Muslims reaped a large booty of arms, clothes, gold and silver objects. Many prisoners and the boot, with a stocking, for one of Khātūn's feet, were taken.<sup>158</sup> The shoe and stocking were made of gold set with jewels to the value of 200,000 *dirhams*. 'Ubaidallāh (ibn) Ziyād ordered the trees uprooted and the villages destroyed. The city was also in danger. Khātūn sent a person and asked for amnesty. Peace was concluded for a thousand times a thousand *dirhams*, (i.e.—a million).<sup>\*</sup> She sent the money, which he took and departed, but he took the four thousand captives with him.<sup>159</sup>

When he was removed from the governorship of Khurāsān in the year 56/675 or 6, Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān became the amīr of Khurāsān. He crossed the Oxus and came to Bukhara. Khātūn sent a person to tell him, "I will make peace on the same conditions as I made with 'Ubaidallāh (ibn) Ziyād." She sent part of the money,<sup>†</sup> but suddenly the army of Sughd, Kish, and Nakhshab arrived, and they numbered 120,000 men. Khātūn regretted the peace and what she had already sent. Sa'īd said, "I feel the same." He sent the money back and declared, "There is no peace between us." Then the armies gathered, stood opposite each other, and arranged their ranks. God the Exalted put terror into the hearts of the infidels so that all of their forces fled without fighting. Khātūn remained alone, and again she sent a person and asked for peace. She increased the tribute and sent all of it.

Sa'īd said,<sup>‡</sup> "I am going now to Sughd and Samarqand, and you are on my road (of communications). A guarantee is necessary from you so that you may not cut the way and cause

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<sup>\*</sup> B adds: and four hundred.

<sup>†</sup> B adds: and Khātūn sent to the province of Kish.

<sup>‡</sup> B adds: Oh Khātūn!



me trouble." Khātūn gave eighty princes and *dihqāns* of Bukhara as hostages to Saīd. Saīd went out the gate of Bukhara, departed and kept going.<sup>160</sup>

A story is related that this Khātūn fell in love with one of her husband's servants. People said that her son Ṭughshāda was from this man, and that she had this son confirmed as though he were from her husband. This boy was really not the son of Bukhār Khudāh.\* A faction of the army declared they would give this kingdom to another ruler's son who was a prince without doubt.† Khātūn was aware of their intention, and was considering a plan to rid herself of them when this peace was made with Saīd. Now Saīd wanted hostages from her. Khātūn played a trick, and that group which had the intention mentioned above, she gave as hostages. So she was rid of them and Saīd as well.

A story is told that when Saīd made peace with Khātūn he said, "You must come out and greet me." Khātūn agreed, and came out to greet him. He also asked her to greet his chiefs. Khātūn greeted every one of the chiefs of his army. One of the generals of the army was 'Abdallāh (ibn) Khāzim.<sup>161</sup> He ordered a large fire kindled in his tent and he stood by it. The air became very hot. 'Abdallāh was ruddy-complexioned, and his eyes also became red from the light of the fire. His head was so large that a saying was coined about it. He was terrifying and a frightening person. He was clad in armor, and drew his sword and sat down. When Khātūn approached him she became afraid and quickly fled, saying,

Your beauty is adorned oh slave of God (i.e.—'Abdallāh)  
May the evil eye be far. What (greatness)  
he has made.‡<sup>162</sup>

Story: Sulaimān Laithī has also said that when Saīd made peace with Khātūn he became sick in Bukhara. Khātūn came to visit him. She had a purse full of gold.\* She put her hand

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\* B adds: her husband.

† B adds: to Vardān Khudāh.

‡ D: thy blood is thus oh Abdallāh; B, C, D: what he has not concocted.

\* B adds: hanging at her waist.



in the purse, brought out two things and said, "This one I keep for myself; if I should become sick I eat it. The other I give to you so that you can eat it and become well." Sa'īd wondered what Khātūn had given with such awe and respect. When Khātūn had departed Sa'īd realized it was an old date. He ordered some of his followers to load five camels with fresh dates and carry them to Khātūn. They brought them to Khātūn. She opened the sacks and saw many dates. Then she opened her purse and brought out her date and compared it with them. They were the same as she had.<sup>†</sup> She came with an apology and said, "We don't have many of these things, and I preserved these two dates for many years to be used for sickness."<sup>‡</sup><sup>163</sup> It is said that this Khātūn was a sweet, beautiful woman, and Sa'īd became enamored of her. The people of Bukhara had songs of this affair in the language of Bukhara.

It is mentioned (in tradition) that when Sa'īd came to Bukhara Qutham ibn 'Abbās [may God be pleased with him], also came to Bukhara.<sup>164</sup> Sa'īd honored him and said, "I shall give everyone one portion of this booty, but to you a thousand portions." Qutham replied, "I only want one part as is the decree of the religious law." After that Qutham went to Merv and died there. Some say that he died in Samarqand. [God knows best.]

When Sa'īd was finished with his work at Bukhara he went to Samarqand and Sughd. He fought many battles and was victorious. At that time there was no ruler in Samarqand. He (Sa'īd) brought back thirty thousand prisoners and much wealth from Samarqand. When he returned to Bukhara Khātūn sent a person who said, "Since you have returned in safety return the hostages to us." Sa'īd replied, "I still am not secure from you; the hostages will remain with me till I cross the Oxus." When he crossed the Oxus Khātūn again sent a person. He answered, "Wait till I come to Merv." When he came to Merv he said, "Until I come to Nishāpūr." When he came to Nishāpūr

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<sup>†</sup> B adds: On this account she became ashamed and she came —.

<sup>‡</sup> B adds: Sa'īd gave her an extremely fine robe which she put in the treasury, and after that every ruler of Bukhara used it for ceremonies and left it to their children as a legacy.



he said to wait till his arrival in Kūfa, and thence to Medina.

When he came to Medina he ordered slaves to take their swords and belts from them, and whatever they had of brocade garments, gold and silver. All was taken from them and rough clothes\* were given them in exchange. Then they were put to farming.† They became very sick at heart and said, "What meanness remains which he has not inflicted upon us? He has put us in bondage and ordered us to do heavy work. If we must perish in indignity, then we should do so with one useful act."‡ They entered the house of Sa'īd, barred the doors, and killed him. Then they committed suicide.<sup>165</sup>

This happened in the time when Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya was caliph, and Muslim ibn Ziyād ibn Abīhi became the amīr of Khurāsān (61-64/681-4).<sup>166</sup> He came to Khurāsān and prepared the army there. He arrived at Bukhara and Khātūn saw the army and its array. She knew that Bukhara could not resist such an army, so she sent a person to Tarkhūn, ruler of Sughd,<sup>167</sup> and said, "I shall become your wife and Bukhara your city if you come and repel the Arabs from this kingdom." Tarkhūn came\* with 120,000 men, and Bīdūn also came from Turkistān with a large army.† Khātūn had made peace with Muslim and had opened the gates. She had also opened the gates of the villa which was outside the city. Bīdūn arrived and camped on the other side of the Kharqān stream. Muslim was informed that Bīdūn had arrived. Khātūn swore fealty (to Bīdūn) and barred the gates of the city. Muslim ibn Ziyād sent a man to Muhallab<sup>168</sup> and said, "Tell him to go and spy on this army, (find out) what is its strength, and whatever is in the principles of scouting, and return with it." Muhallab answered, "One does not send a man like me for this work. I am a well-known person. Send a man who, if he returns safely, will give you correct information, but if he perishes the loss will not be noticed in

\* B: *gilims* were given them for their clothes.

† B adds: Since they were captives they received no clemency according to the decree of religious law.

‡ B adds: they assembled and —.

\* B adds: from Şughd-i Samarqand.

† B, D, E: Bndūn; B adds: came with 120,000 Turks.



your army." Muslim replied, "You must go in any case." Muhallab replied, "If I must go, send a man† with me from each banner (section) of the army, and do not inform anyone of my departure." He did so, and also sent his cousin with him. They left at night with him, and discovered (information) without the enemy army knowing it.

When it became day Muslim ibn Ziyād performed the morning prayer. He turned to the people and said, "Last night I sent Muhallab to spy." The news was spread among the army. The Arabs heard of this and said, "He has sent the amīr Muhallab to obtain booty before us. If there is going to be a battle he should have sent us with him." Promptly a group mounted and went in search of Muhallab to the bank of the river.\* When Muhallab saw them he said, "You have made a mistake in coming. I was hidden and you† are coming openly. Now the infidels will capture all of us." Muhallab counted the Muslims and there were nine hundred. He said, "By God! you should be sorry for what you have done." Then they arranged ranks. The advance guard of Bīdūn's army saw them. The Muslims quickly blew horns and everyone at once mounted, and they arranged their ranks.

The Turkish king attacked them and the Arabs despaired. Muhallab said, "I knew it would be thus." They asked, "What is your plan?" He said, "Advance," (but) they retreated. Bīdūn overtook them and killed four hundred Muslims, and the rest fled to their camp. The next morning Bīdūn crossed the river and came near the amīr of Khotan (*sic*), until there was only half a parasang between them.<sup>169</sup> The battle was joined. Muhallab attacked first and the battle became desperate. The infidels attacked and surrounded him. Muhallab shouted "Help." Muslim was dismayed and said, "This is the cry of Muhallab." 'Abdallāh (ibn) Khūdān was then standing in front of Muslim, and was silent.<sup>170</sup> Muslim said, "What has happened to you that you do not speak a word?" He replied, "By God, Muhallab would not cry for help unless he feared he would perish. I

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† B adds: a man of renown.

\* B: Kharqān River.

† So D, E; A, B, and C have *ēshān* "they." I choose "you."



shall mount and do all I can. If it is my turn to die I am prepared for it." At every reverse Muhallab uttered a cry. Muslim said, "Wait for an hour."\* For Muslim wanted a table in order to eat at that time. 'Abdallāh (ibn) Khūdān said, "Is this the time† to eat? May God satiate thee and destroy thee. Don't you realize the situation and art thou not a man of arms?" Muslim asked, "What is your plan now?" He replied, "Tell the cavalry to dismount and go to the battlefield." So they did. 'Abdallāh ibn Khūdān attacked and advanced towards Muhallab, who was surrounded and in difficulty. 'Abdallāh cried, "Look behind you." When they looked they saw people coming to aid them. They took heart, began to advance and became firm in their task. In that interval Bīdūn was killed. The Muslims called "*Allāhu akbar*" and the infidels at once broke into flight. The Muslims pursued the infidels and killed them till they were utterly destroyed. They seized much booty and divided it on the same day, and every horseman received 2,400 *dirhams*.

Khātūn again sent a person to ask for peace. Muslim made peace with her for a great sum. Khātūn said, "I want to make a request of you. Show me 'Abdallāh (ibn) Khāzim, for I once saw his face and fainted. It seems to me he is not human." Muslim summoned 'Abdallāh (ibn) Khāzim to the reception hall which he had, and showed him to Khātūn. He wore a blue silk cloak and a red turban. When Khātūn saw him she bowed to him and sent him gifts out of admiration. Muslim, having won a victory, collected much booty and returned to Khurāsān.

## XIX

### *An account of the governorship of Qutaiba ibn Muslim and the conquest of Bukhara*

When Qutaiba ibn Muslim became the amīr of Khurāsān at the nomination of Ḥajjāj, he came and set all of Khurāsān in order.<sup>171</sup> He finished the conquest of Ṭukhāristān and crossed the Oxus in the year 88/706. The inhabitants of Baikand heard

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\* B: wait a bit.

† D: place.



of this and fortified Baikand. It was very strong. In ancient times Baikand was called the "Fortress," or "the Bronze Fortress" because of its strength.

Qutaiba fought severe battles, and for fifty days the Muslims were in sore straits and suffered hardships.<sup>172</sup> They played a trick, however, and a group dug a tunnel under the walls by a tower and emerged inside the walls in a stable. They undermined the walls and made a breach. Still the Muslims could not enter the fortress and were powerless at the breach. Qutaiba announced, "To whoever enters this breach I shall give a bonus, and if he be killed I shall give it to his children." It made everyone\* strive to enter, and they (finally) seized the fortress. The people of Baikand asked for quarter. Qutaiba made peace and fixed the price of tribute. He made Warqā' ibn Naṣr Bāhilī the amīr over them, while he (Qutaiba) turned towards Bukhara.†<sup>173</sup>

When he reached Khunbūn\* he received news that the people of the fortress† had revolted and killed the amīr.<sup>174</sup> Qutaiba ordered his army to go and plunder Baikand. He made their blood and property free (for the Muslims). The reason (of the uprising) was that a man in Baikand had two beautiful daughters. Warqā' ibn Naṣr took possession of both. That man said, "Baikand is a large city. From all of the city why do you take my two daughters?" Warqā' did not reply, so the man sprang forward and struck him with a knife in his navel. The knife, however, did not penetrate deep and he was not killed (*sic*).‡ When the news came to Qutaiba he returned and killed all those in the city of Baikand who were capable of fighting. He carried into captivity those who remained, so no one was left in Baikand and it was ruined. The people of Baikand were merchants and most of them had gone on a trading expedition to *Chīn* and elsewhere.<sup>175</sup> When they returned they searched for their children, women, and relations, and they ransomed them from the Arabs

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\* B adds: of the Muslims.

† B: Khurāsān.

\* B: the Jaihūn.

† B: Baikand.

‡ B, E have no negative.



and rebuilt Baikand as before. It is said there never was a city like Baikand which, having been completely destroyed and remaining empty, was then so quickly rebuilt by the hands of the same inhabitants.

Story: It is related that when Qutaiba conquered Baikand he found an idol of silver in a temple with a weight of 4,000 *dirhams*. He also found silver goblets. When he gathered together everything it amounted to 150,000 *mithqāls*. He also found two pearls each the size of a pigeon's egg.<sup>176</sup> Qutaiba asked from whence they had brought such large pearls. They said that two birds had brought them in their beaks and had placed them in the temple.\* Then Qutaiba gathered the elegant things and sent them, with those two pearls, to Ḥajjāj. He wrote a letter about the conquest of Baikand and mentioned the story of the two pearls. Ḥajjāj wrote an answer, "What you mentioned is known (to me), but I was astonished at the size of the pearls and about the birds which brought them. I am even more surprised at your liberality, that you secured such precious things and sent them to me. May God bless you!" After this Baikand remained many years in ruins.

When Qutaiba was finished with Baikand he went to Khunbūn and fought there. He seized Khunbūn, Tārāb, and many small villages.<sup>177</sup> Then he went to Vardāna,† where there was a ruler called Vardān Khudāh. He fought many battles with him, till finally Vardān Khudāh died and Qutaiba took Vardāna and many small villages.

Among the villages of Bukhara, between Tārāb, Khunbūn, and Rāmitīn,‡ many troops gathered and surrounded Qutaiba. Ṭarkhūn, ruler of Sughd, came with many troops. Khnk\*\* Khudāh came with a large army; Vardān Khudāh with his troops, and king Kūr Maghānūn,<sup>178</sup> nephew of the emperor of *Chin* also came.<sup>179</sup> He had been hired, and came with 40,000 soldiers to give aid in the war against Qutaiba. The armies

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\* B adds: They told these untruths because of the customs of their false religion.

† B adds: which is called Vardānzī.

‡ B: Rāmush.

\*\* D: Khbk.



gathered and the lot of Qutaiba grew worse. Qutaiba and his allies had (few) arms, so he ordered that they (the soldiers) should not allow their weapons far (from their hands), and they should not leave (camp). As a result the price of weapons rose so high that a spear was worth fifty *dirhams*, a shield fifty or sixty, and a coat of mail seven hundred *dirhams*. Haiyān al-Nabaṭī<sup>180</sup> told Qutaiba,\* "I myself will seek out (the enemy) so give me leave till tomorrow." When it was morning Haiyān (al-) Nabaṭī sent a person to the king of Sughd saying, "I have some counsel for you. We two should convene somewhere." Ṭarkhūn replied, "Agreed, what time shall we assemble?" Haiyān said, "At that time when the army is occupied and the battle is most severe." So they did.

When the battle became fierce Haiyān (al-) Nabaṭī saw Ṭarkhūn and said, "Your kingdom has slipped away from you and you do not know it." (Ṭarkhūn) asked, "How?" He replied, "We can only remain here for a short time when it is warm. Now the weather is cold and we shall have to go. While we are here the Turks will fight against us, but when we leave they will fight much against you, for the district of Sughd is very pleasant. There is no place in the world as pleasant as this. Do you think they will leave Sughd to you and return to Turkistān? You will remain in difficulty, and they will take your kingdom away." Ṭarkhūn asked, "What course should I follow?" He replied, "Make peace with Qutaiba and give him something. Inform the Turks that we have received support from Hajjāj,\* that on the road from Kish and Nakhshab is a mighty army. Say that you will retreat, so they will also retreat. Then make peace with us, and make a treaty with us, for we do not wish you evil or harm. Thus you can escape from this difficult situation." Ṭarkhūn said, "You gave me good advice. I shall do this. This evening I shall retreat."

When evening came, Ṭarkhūn sent a man to Qutaiba to make peace, and he sent gifts (worth) 2,000 *dirhams*. They†

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\* B adds: —al Nabaṭī who was one of the leaders of the enemy army (*sic*).

\* B: news of aid, that he has sent an army to Qutaiba.

† B adds: both.



blew horns and left. The *dihqāns* and amīrs asked what had happened. He replied, "Take care, for Ḥajjāj has sent a large army from the direction of Kish and Nakhshab to attack us in the rear, so they can put us between them. I am retreating to my district." Kūr Maghānūn Turk sent a man and asked information about this action. He was informed and he also blew a horn and retreated. They plundered the district and left. God the Exalted removed that difficulty from the heads of the Muslims.

Qutaiba remained isolated four months, and during that time news of Qutaiba and his allies had not come to Ḥajjāj. He was worried about this. The Qur'ān was recited and read, and prayers were offered in the mosques. Qutaiba and his allies came back to Bukhara, and this was the fourth time he had come to Bukhara. He made war, carried away wealth, and plundered part of the district. Some people were killed and others made prisoners and brought to Merv. He left and returned. May God the Exalted protect the district of Bukhara from all misfortunes and sorrows.\*

## XX

### *The conquest of Bukhara (continued) and the establishment of Islam in it*

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far related that when the husband of Khātūn, mother of Ṭughshāda, died the son of the Bukhār Khudāh was a small boy. Khātūn held the regency. An account of that has been told in (the chapter regarding) 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād and Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān [God be pleased with them] (Ch. XVIII). Every time a Muslim army came to Bukhara it raided in the summer and departed in the winter.<sup>181</sup> Khātūn fought a little with each army that came and then made peace. When her son was small everyone coveted this territory, since the Bukhār Khudāh himself had seized Bukhara by force.\*\* The inhabitants of Bukhara became Muslims, but each time after the

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\* B has: The district of Bukhara was conquered.

\*\* B adds: Finally the army of Islam conquered Bukhara.



Muslims withdrew they apostatized. Qutaiba ibn Muslim converted them to Islam three times, but they (repeatedly) apostatized and became infidels. The fourth time he made war he seized the city and established Islam there after much difficulty. He instilled Islam in their hearts, and made (their religion) difficult for them in every way. They accepted Islam in appearance but in secret worshipped idols. Qutaiba thought it proper to order the people of Bukhara to give one-half of their homes to the Arabs so that the Arabs might be with them\* and informed of their sentiments.<sup>182</sup> Then they would be obliged to be Muslims. In this manner he made Islam prevail and imposed the religious laws on them. He built mosques and eradicated traces of unbelief and the precepts of the fire-worshippers. He labored a great deal and punished everyone who broke the decrees of the religious laws. He built a grand mosque, and ordered the people to perform the Friday prayer there so that God the Exalted would reward the people of Bukhara for this good (deed) on the final judgment.†

## XXI

*On the building of the grand mosque*

Qutaiba ibn Muslim\* built a grand mosque inside the citadel of Bukhara in the year 94/712-3. That place (formerly) had been a temple. He ordered the people of Bukhara to assemble there every Friday, for he had it proclaimed that, "Whosoever is present at the Friday prayer, I will give him two *dirhams*." The people of Bukhara, at the beginning of (their conversion to) Islam, during prayer, read the Qur'ān in Persian, for they were unable to understand Arabic.<sup>183</sup> When it was the time for the *rukū'* (bowing from the waist) a man behind them shouted *bknitā nkint*, and when they wanted the *sujūd* (full prostration) he shouted *nkūniā nkūnī*.<sup>184</sup>

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far in his book has recorded that he saw

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\* B adds: mixed together.

† B adds: They all became Muslims.

\* B adds: after Islam had been established.



the grand mosque of Bukhara. On its doors were images with the faces scratched out, but the rest was in its former state.<sup>185</sup> He (Narshakhī) said that he asked his teacher who had first erected the doors. (His teacher) was an old man and affirmed that the reason for this was that in (olden) times it was related that outside the city were seven hundred villas where the rich people lived and they were very arrogant. Most of them did not come to the grand mosque. The poor wanted the two *dirhams* but the rich had no need for them. One Friday the Muslims went to the gates of the villas and called them to the Friday prayer and pleaded with them. The residents, however, threw stones at them from the roofs of the villas. They fought and the Muslims were victorious.<sup>185a</sup> The latter took down the gates of the villas and bore them away. On each gate a person had made the figure of his idol. When the grand mosque was enlarged those gates were used on the mosque. They erected them with the faces of the figures erased but with the rest intact. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says that in his time one of those gates remained in that place where you descend from the roofs to the door of the grand mosque. If anyone wishes (to see such a door) go to the court of the amīr of Khurāsān, stop by the first door, and the second door is what is left of those gates. The traces of the effacement on it are still visible.

Qutaiba built that mosque which is inside the citadel.\* People used to pray in it. When the Muslims increased, and the inclination of the people for Islam grew every day, (the worshippers) could not be contained in that mosque. (So it remained) till the time of Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd Barmakī.<sup>186</sup> When he became the amīr of Khurāsān, (177/793 or 4) in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the inhabitants of Bukhara gathered and decided to build a cistern (inside) the fortifications.† They also built a grand mosque between the citadel and the city proper in the year 154/770-1. They held the Friday prayer, however, in the (old) mosque of the fortress. When the grand mosque became dilapidated, and the mosque of the fortress was abandoned, the former became the bureau of taxes. No one showed

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\* B adds: of Bukhara.

† B: decided to build this citadel.



more zeal\* in building a large mosque than Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā Barmakī. He spent much money (on the grand mosque), and after that everyone added to it till the time of the amīr Ismaʿīl Sāmānī. The latter bought many houses and enlarged the dimensions of the mosque by a third. The first person who ordered lamps placed in the mosques in the month of Ramaḍān was Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā Barmakī.

Story: It is related that in the time of the amīr Saʿīd Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismaʿīl in the month of Ramaḍān, on a Friday at the time when the people were in the grand mosque, the mosque suddenly collapsed. Many people were killed and there was mourning in all of the city. Some were dug out while still breathing, but in an hour they died. Some had arms or legs broken. In the entire city many people perished, so afterwards the city of Bukhara seemed empty. Soon the people of the city recovered, and all of the courtiers of the sultan gave help (to rebuild). Abu —, the judge, was in charge of that work.<sup>187</sup> The mosque was finished in one year.

Yet another time, after a year, it was destroyed again. Both sides of the *qibla* fell down, but there were no people in it. It was rebuilt in the course of five years,† and Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jaihānī‡ built the minaret completely at his own expense in the year 306/918.<sup>188</sup> He was the prime minister of the sultan at that time. This grand mosque was adjacent to the citadel. It existed till the end of the rule of Ibrāhīm Ṭamghāj Khān (433-460/1041-1068).<sup>189</sup> Ṭamghāj Khān had another son Shams al-Mulk Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm (460-473/1068-1080), who advanced on Bukhara. Saifas strengthened the citadel of Bukhara.<sup>190</sup> Shams al-Mulk engaged in battle at the gate of the citadel of Bukhara. From the minaret\* of the grand mosque they shot arrows into the citadel. As a result the people in the citadel were in sore straits. Shams al-Mulk (*sic* Saifas?) ordered fire (arrows) shot from the fortifications.† The top of the minaret was made of

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\* B: force and energy.

† D: sixty-five years.

‡ B, C, D, E, F: ʿUbaidallāh (*sic*).

\* D: the courtyard.

† B: into the citadel.



wood and caught fire. Fire brands fell down on the grand mosque and it also burned.

After king Shams al-Mulk had seized the citadel, and the kingdom of Bukhara surrendered to him, he ordered the grand mosque rebuilt. He also ordered a trench dug between the citadel and the grand mosque. The top of the mosque was built of baked bricks. The *maqṣūra* (ante-chamber) and the court where the *maqṣūra* was located, he ordered built farther from the citadel. The nobles and rich all gave help to finish this structure. The burning of the mosque was in the year 460/1068, and in 461/1069 it was rebuilt.

Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr says he heard from trustworthy friends that the *maqṣūra*, *minbar*, and *miḥrāb* which are in (the mosque in) Bukhara, were ordered by king Shams al-Mulk. They were carved and decorated in Samarqand and brought to Bukhara. The mosque remained in this state till the time of Arslān Khān Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān (495-524/1102-1130), who ordered the grand mosque placed even farther from the citadel, so damage would not happen to it as (had occurred) in the time of Shams al-Mulk. Arslān Khān bought many houses in the city proper, and that part of the grand mosque nearest the citadel he ordered removed. The minaret near the citadel he ordered excavated and transferred into the city.<sup>191</sup> There was nothing similar to it anywhere in exquisite craftsmanship and beauty. When it was finished and the top put on it, a little remained before it was completed. But it was bewitched and the minaret fell down and struck the grand mosque, one-third of which was destroyed. The painted, carved wood all broke. Again Arslān Khān ordered the minaret erected. They took pains to make it durable, so its top was made of baked bricks. All was done at his personal expense. The grand mosque\* which he ordered was (built) in 515/1121.†

Of the total of mosques there are five with courtyards. The two in the city proper, with the minarets, are the work of Shams al-Mulk. The large courtyard and the *maqṣūra* are also the work

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\* B: the minaret of the grand mosque.

† B adds: and in 521 he built the minaret adjoining the mosque.



of Shams al-Mulk. Between them are two courtyards (dating) from ancient times. The one (mosque) near the citadel remains from Isma'īl Sāmānī, built in the year 290/902. The other, near the court of the amīr of Khurāsān, is the work of the amīr Ḥamīd Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (ibn Aḥmad) ibn Isma'īl Sāmānī, built in the year 340/951 of the Hijra of the Prophet [may God bless and preserve him].

## XXII

### *An account of the place of prayer for festivals*

When Qutaiba ibn Muslim built the grand mosque it was inside the citadel. Inside the city, in a place called the Rīgistān, he made a place for the holiday prayer, to which he brought out the Muslims to perform the prayers for festivals.<sup>192</sup> He ordered the people to bring their arms with them because Islam was still new, and the Muslims were not safe from the infidels.<sup>193</sup> Today the custom remains that all those who have weapons take them out with them. The gate (facing the area) is called the gate of the court of Ma'bad. This Ma'bad al-Khail\* was (formerly) the amīr of Bukhara. In this place of worship the festival prayers were performed for many years.

(All) could not be contained (in it), so the amīr Sadīd, Maṣṣūr ibn Nuḥ ibn Naṣr (961-77), bought enclosures and lovely gardens on the Samatīn road for a high price, and he spent much money on them. He made it a place for the holiday prayers, and ordered a fine *minbar* and *miḥrāb* (erected). He also ordered columns erected so that the elders might call the prayer from them so people could hear. From this place of prayer to the gate of the citadel of Bukhara was half a parasang. It was all full of people (at prayer-time), and for many years the holiday prayers were held here. This began in the year 360/970-1. It was the place of worship till the time of Arslān Khān. He ordered the place of worship (for festivals) built near the city so it wouldn't be so difficult for the people, and if foes attacked the city the people would not be absent.<sup>194</sup>

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\* B: Ḥalīl.



At the gate of Ibrāhīm was a garden fit for kings, which was called Shamsābād. The garden had been destroyed and farming was practiced in it. The Turkish khāqān\* ordered all of it enclosed and built high walls around it. The *minbar* and *mihrāb* were made of baked bricks, and in it were columns for the elders (reciters of prayers). That was in the year 513/1119 from the flight of the Prophet.† [May God bless and protect him and his family.]

## XXIII

*On the division of the city of Bukhara between the  
Arabs and the natives*

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far relates from Ḥātim the Jurist, that when Qutaiba came to Bukhara the fourth time and seized the city, he made peace on condition that every year 200,000 *dirhams* be sent to the caliph, and 10,000 to the amīr of Khurāsān. They had to give half of their houses and fields to the Muslims, and fodder for the horses of the Arabs, firewood, and whatever was levied in taxes. People who were outside the city also had to give. In the city were villas, and some quarters were dispersed far from one another, like villages. The city proper had seven gates. The first was called the gate of the bazar, because in that time there was no bazar by any other gate of the city except here. We call it the "gate of the spice sellers."

Then Qutaiba divided the city so that the part from where you come in by the gate of the "spice-sellers" to the gate of the citadel and from there to the gate of Nūn<sup>195</sup> was given to (the tribes of) Rabī'a and Muḍar, and the remainder to the Yemenites. When you enter the city proper the first quarter to the left is called the "quarter of the rogues."\* Before this time a Christian church was there, but now it is a mosque called the mosque of the Banī Ḥanzala.<sup>196</sup> When you come into the city, to the right is a section called the district of Wazīr ibn Aiyūb ibn Ḥassān.

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\* B adds: Arslān Khān.

† D: 350/961 *sic*. B adds: 153 years after the first *namāzgāh*.

\* B: of the fire worshippers.



It is also called the "district of the castle." This Wazir ibn Aiyūb was one of the captains of Qutaiba, and his father had been the amir of Bukhara.<sup>197</sup> He was the first person in the time of Islam who was appointed the amir in Bukhara by Qutaiba ibn Muslim. The successive amirs of Bukhara lived in this "district of the castle." There was a separate court there for each of the amirs of Bukhara.

There was a *dihqān* called Khīna who changed his name to Ahmad when Islam was brought there. All of this "district of the castle" belonged to him. There was a castle in this quarter where the *dihqāns* and the amirs of Bukhara used to live. Afterwards the castle passed from him by the will of God. In 150/767 the descendants of this *dihqān*, Kadra-i Khīna by name,\* made a plea before Abū Ja'far Dawāniqī (Manṣūr), who was caliph, for this castle, and they presented a deed.<sup>198</sup> The first boundary (according to) it was the walls of the city adjoining the site of the "green grocers stalls." The second boundary was also along the city walls adjacent to the bazar of the "pistachio shellers." The third boundary was a straight road which led from the gate of Nūn to the middle of the city. From the gate of the "spice sellers" to the gate of Nūn is all one area, which is one-fourth of the city proper. It was included in this deed. (In addition there were) one thousand shops in the city† of Bukhara, and seventy-five private villages on the river of Bukhara and on the Upper Farāvāz,‡ which existed in Islamic times. They presented claim to all of this before the caliph. They offered documents and witnesses gave proofs. The caliph ordered it registered and (the decision) brought to Bukhara. Everything was returned to them. Afterwards their children little by little sold it to everyone till it was dispersed among the people.

Entering by the gate of the "spice sellers," you come to the gate of the Banī Sa'd and the mosque of the Banī Sa'd. Hasan ibn 'Alā' Sughdī,<sup>199</sup> who was a great man, had a villa of such a high value inside the city proper that there was no king who

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\* B adds: went to Baghdād and —.

† D adds: in the bazar of the city.

‡ A, B: Farāvīz.



had a similar one. He built up the district of 'Alā' to the gate of 'Alā', and he built this enclosure. Every month he obtained 1200 *dīnārs* from the produce of this area. He also owned estates in the city.

Story: Ḥasan ibn Ṭāhir,<sup>200</sup> who was the amīr of Khurāsān (*sic*, 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusain 213-230/828-44), had a chief minister who was called Ḥafṣ ibn Hāshim.\* The latter wished to buy these lands from them (the owners), but they would not sell. Because of that he imprisoned them and inflicted much torture on them. Once a week he called them to him and sought to buy the estates. When they would not sell he sent them back to the prison and ordered the punishment increased. In such a state fifteen years passed. They endured the punishment and pain, but they did not sell their possessions. One day Ḥafṣ ibn Hāshim called them and said, "You have endured punishment for a long time. What do you think will finally happen to you?"† Ḥasan ibn 'Alā' said, "One of three things will happen. Either you will die, your master will die, or we shall die." On the same day Ḥafṣ ordered an increase in their torture and punishment. A month had not passed from the time of this conversation when the amīr of Khurāsān died. They raised a revolt\* and destroyed the prison. Ḥafṣ ibn Hāshim fled and they plundered his court. Ḥafṣ remained concealed till he died, and Ḥasan ibn 'Alā' returned to Bukhara with his brothers.

When you pass from the gate of the Banī Sa'd there is the gate of the Banī Asad. In the "Time of Ignorance" this gate was called the gate of Muhra. When you come out and descend from that gate, there is the court of the amīr of Khurāsān. The other gate is called the "gate of the citadel,"† because if you go out from this gate the fortifications are in front of you. Today that quarter is in ruins, namely the quarter called Faghṣādra,<sup>201</sup> and now it is a burial ground. The houses of the Arabs were

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\* D: Hishām.

† B adds: and what is your intention?

\* B adds: and wanted to destroy the prison and —.

† A, B, C: gate of the fire worshippers, but D, E, have: "citadel" which I have chosen because of what follows.



mainly by that gate. That gate is the strongest of all and has a large arch, the length of which is sixty paces. Under the arch are many houses. An amīr called Sūbāsh Tekīn built this structure.<sup>202</sup> His mausoleum is also in this place.

The next gate is the gate of Ḥaqrah.‡ Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ the great, Bukhārī, lived in that quarter.<sup>203</sup> He went from Bukhara to Baghdad and became a student of Imām Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaibānī [God bless him].<sup>204</sup> There was no other person like him in the district. He was one of the honored teachers of Bukhara.<sup>205</sup> He was an ascetic as well as a man of knowledge. Because of him Bukhara became the "Dome of Islam."<sup>206</sup> That was because the people of Bukhara were educated, knowledge was diffused there,\* and the imāms and wise men were honored. He was the cause of it. His son Abū 'Abdallāh also attained such a high degree of knowledge that when a caravan returned from the pilgrimage, their scholars came to Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ and asked him questions.<sup>207</sup> He said, "You come from 'Irāq; why did you not ask the learned men of 'Irāq?" One replied, "I disputed the question with the learned men of 'Irāq, and they were unable to give me an answer. They told me when I come to Bukhara to ask Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ Bukhārī about this matter, or his children." Then he gave a proper answer to the question. Every night and day Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ twice read the Qur'ān through, and still (had time) to teach the people. When he became old and weak he read the Qur'ān through only once. When he became more feeble he read only half the Qur'ān until he died. [May God forgive him, with mercy and blessing.]

A story (is) told that Yaḥyā ibn Naṣr said, "I was with Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ when the morning prayer was finished. He sat with his face towards the *qibla* and was reading something when the sun rose. Then he saw† that the people were not present at his lecture on religious knowledge. He rose and made four *rukū*' in prayer and read the *sūras*, "the Cow," "the Family of 'Imrān," "The Women," and "the Table," during the four *rukū*'.<sup>208</sup> When he gave the blessing the people were still not

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‡ B: Ḥafṣ; D: Khidrā.

\* B: from there.

† B: he looked behind.



present.<sup>209</sup> He rose and performed twelve *rukū* of prayer, reading to the *sūra* of "Thunder."

Muḥammad ibn Ṭālūt Hamadānī narrated from the (book) *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*\* that in Bukhara there was an amīr called Muḥammad Ṭālūt.<sup>210</sup> One day he said to Khishwiya,<sup>211</sup> who was his prime minister, "We must go on a visit to Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ and find him."† This Khishwiya was one of the influential and powerful men of Bukhara. He said, "You should not go to him for when you are with him you will be unable to speak to him before his face because of awe for him." He replied, "I shall go in any case." So he went with his prime minister to Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ. The latter was in the mosque praying. After the mid-day prayer, when he had given the blessing, the prime minister entered and said, "The amīr has come. Has he permission to enter?" (The Khwāja) replied, "He has," and turned his face to the *qibla*. The amīr entered, greeted him and sat down. He was unable to say a single word. The Khwāja, may God show him mercy, asked, "What need do you have?" Every time he tried to say a word he was unable to speak. When the amīr met Khishwiya,‡ the latter asked, "What (impression) did you obtain of Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ?" The amīr replied, "It was just as you said; I remained in awe. Several times I went to the caliph and spoke with him. At those discourses I was not in awe of the caliph. Here I was unable to speak out of respect for him (Abū Ḥafṣ)."

It is related from Muḥammad ibn Salām Baikandī,<sup>212</sup> who was an ascetic and scholar, that in a dream he had seen the Prophet [may God give him mercy and peace], in Bukhara, in the bazar of Kharqān. The area from the beginning of the quarter of the Magians to the section of the *dihqāns*, was called the bazar of Kharqān in olden times. He said he saw the Prophet sitting on that same camel, which is mentioned in tradition, with a white cap on his head.<sup>213</sup> A large crowd was standing before him showing delight\* at the coming of the Prophet. They said,

\* B adds: a book written by Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsāi Bukhārī.

† B adds: and speak with him.

‡ B: when Khishwiya saw the amīr he asked —.

\* D: were raising shouts.



"Where will we lodge the Prophet [may God bless him]?" Then they lodged him in the house of Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ. (He said) he saw the Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ sitting before the Prophet and reading "The Book." For three days the Prophet remained in the house of Abū Ḥafṣ, while he read "The Book" and the Prophet listened. In those three days he never once corrected him, for all was correct. Today the home of the Khwāja does not exist,† although several times people re-built it; but traces of it still remain. His prayer-cell also remains in that house, and prayers are answered there.

He died in 217/832 and his ashes are by the new gate which is well known. It is a place where prayers are answered. The mound is called the hill of Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ. There are mosques and monastery-cells‡ there. Adjoining it live attendants.\*\* The people consider that earth blessed, and they call that place the gate of Ḥaqrāh (Road of Truth) for it was there that people brought a *fatwā* (judicial decision) to Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ and he interpreted it correctly. So it is rightly called Ḥaqrāh.

The seventh gate was called the new gate because it was the last gate of the city proper. If you enter this gate on the right hand is the mosque of the Quraish, which is near the home of Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ. They called this the mosque of the Quraish because Muqātil ibn Sulaimān al-Quraishī lived there. This Muqātil was the master of Ḥaiyān\* who was the client of Ṭalḥa ibn Hubaira al-Shaibānī.<sup>214</sup> This Ḥaiyān was an influential and prominent man in Khurāsān. He made peace between Qutaiba and Ṭarkhūn, the king of Sughd, at the time when the infidels had surrounded the former at the gate of Bukhara. This same Ḥaiyān installed an army in Ferghāna which (later) killed Qutaiba. A pond of Ḥaiyān is named after him. The grave (lit. ashes) of Qutaiba in Ferghāna is well-known. He rests in the vicinity of the *ribāṭ* of the general, in the village called Kākh.<sup>215</sup> From nearby districts people make pilgrimages to it.

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† D: still remains.

‡ B: dervish quarters.

\*\* B and D: wild animals.

\* B adds: al-Nabaṭī.



Qutaiba was fifty-five years old when he became a martyr. [May God be pleased with him.]

## XXIV

*An account of the house of Sāmān and their lineage*

When Asad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qushairī (*sic*, al-Qasrī) became the amīr of Khurāsān he came and remained there till he died in the year 166/782-3 (*sic*, 120/738).<sup>216</sup> It is said that he was a man of good works and generous. He was so thoughtful that he took care of the great\* and old families (of Khurāsān). He held in esteem the people of noble origin both of the Arabs and the natives. When Sāmān Khudāh, who was the ancestor (of the Sāmānids), fled from Balkh and came to him in Merv, the amīr showed him honor and respect.<sup>217</sup> He (the amīr) subdued his foes and gave Balkh back to him. Sāmān Khudāh accepted Islam from him. He was called Sāmān Khudāh because he had built a village which was called Sāmān. They called him by that name, just as the amīr of Bukhara (was called) Bukhār Khudāh. When a son was born to Sāmān Khudāh, out of friendship for the (governor), he named him Asad. This Asad was the grandfather of the late† amīr Isma'īl Sāmānī, (i.e.-) Isma'īl (ibn Aḥmad) ibn Asad ibn Sāmān Khudāh. Sāmān Khudāh was one of the children of King Bahrām Chūbīn. From the time (of Asad) the power of the Sāmānids increased every day till it attained what it did.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says Muḥammad ibn Ja'far has related a story in his book from Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Laithī and Abu'l-Ḥasan Maidānī that in the time of Asad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qushairī a man appeared and exhorted the people of Bukhara to accept Islam. Most of the people of Bukhara were *dhimmis*‡ who paid the poll tax. A group accepted (his exhortations) and became Muslims. The ruler of Bukhara was then Ṭughshāda. He became angry, for he was really an unbe-

\* E: noble; B: of the citadel (*sic*).

† So A; B, D, E, F: *raḍī* "content."

‡ So A, C, and E; B, D, F: villagers.



liever at heart. He wrote a note to the amīr of Khurāsān, Asad ibn 'Abdallāh, that in Bukhara a man had appeared who was causing unrest in the province. "He has incited a group to oppose the ruler. They say they have accepted Islam, but they lie. They proclaim it in speech, but in their hearts they are concerned with their old belief. This is all to cause unrest in the province and in the kingdom, and to avoid paying the tax." Because of this Asad ibn 'Abdallāh wrote to his tax collector, Sharīk ibn Ḥarīth\* and ordered him to seize that group and surrender them to the ruler of Bukhara, to dispose of them as he wished.<sup>218</sup>

It is related that this group was in a mosque, all speaking loud voices, "I testify there is no God but Allāh, and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger." They cried, "Oh Muḥammad, Oh Aḥmad!" (but) the Bukhār Khudāh Ṭughshāda cut off their heads. No one had a chance to plead for mercy. So four hundred people were decapitated and (their heads) placed on gibbets,† and the rest were made prisoners in the name of Asad ibn 'Abdallāh and sent to him in Khurāsān. Not one of this group apostatized, and every one who remained alive remained a Muslim. Asad ibn 'Abdallāh did not keep them from Islam. When Ṭughshāda Bukhār Khudāh died, that group returned to Bukhara [God knows best].

## XV

### *The story of Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār and the killing of Ṭughshāda*

In the year 166/782 (*sic*, 120/738) Asad ibn 'Abdallāh died and Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (105-125/723-743) made Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār the amīr of Khurāsān, (120-130/738-748) and sent him the investiture for Khurāsān.<sup>219</sup> When he came to Transoxiana he made raids on the Turks. He conquered Ferghāna and scattered them (the Turks). Then he returned to Samarqand. When he arrived in Samarqand Ṭugh-

\* For the name B has: regarding this affair.

† or "hanged" (*bi dār kard*). To make sense I have interpreted "gibbets." The Middle Persian sense is "crucified."



shāda Bukhār Khudāh went to him. Naṣr showed him honor and held him in respect, for Naṣr had requested his daughter (in marriage). Ṭughshāda had given him the upper estates of Khunbūn which were called the "tillage of the 'Alīds."<sup>220</sup>

When Ṭughshāda came to Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār, the latter was sitting at the gate of his court. It was the month of Ramaḍān at the time of the setting of the sun. Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār was speaking with Ṭughshāda Bukhār Khudāh when two *dihqāns* from Bukhara entered. Both were relatives of Bukhār Khudāh and both had accepted Islam from Naṣr ibn Saiyār. They were nobles. They complained of the tyranny of Bukhār Khudāh before Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār and claimed that he had seized their villages. The amīr of Bukhara, Wāṣil ibn 'Amr, was also there, and they (also) asked redress from him.<sup>\*221</sup> They remarked, "These two act as one and confiscate the properties of people." Ṭughshāda whispered softly to Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār, and they suspected that Ṭughshāda had requested Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār to kill them. They came to an agreement† and said to each another, "Since Bukhār Khudāh wishes to kill us let us for once follow our hearts desire." Ṭughshāda said to Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār, "Since both of them accepted the faith from you, why then, oh amīr, are there daggers on their belts?" Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār asked them, "Why do you carry these daggers at your belts?" They replied, "There is enmity between us and Bukhār Khudāh, and we do not consider ourselves safe from him." Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār ordered Hārūn ibn Siyāvush to take their daggers from their belts, and the amīr turned an angry glance at them. The two *dihqāns* drew farther away and planned to kill them.

Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār rose for the prayer.\* He pronounced the formula and led the prayer. Bukhār Khudāh sat on a throne and did not pray, for he was still an unbeliever in secret. When Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār finished the prayer he entered the curtained court and called Ṭughshāda. Ṭughshāda stumbled at the door of the court and fell. One of the two *dihqāns* ran (to him) and struck Bukhār Khudāh with a knife in his stomach and pierced

\* B, D: they also complained of his tyranny.

† B, D add: to kill Bukhār Khudāh and Wāṣil.

\* B, D: evening prayer.



it. The other one came to Wāṣil, who was still praying, and stabbed him with a dagger in the stomach. When Wāṣil saw him, he quickly† drew his sword and cut off the head of that *dihqān*, and both died at the same time. Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār ordered the *dihqān* who had stabbed Bukhār Khudāh to be put to death. Then Bukhār Khudāh was carried into the curtained court and Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār had him placed on his own bed. He made him comfortable and called a competent doctor, and ordered him to treat him.<sup>222</sup> Bukhār Khudāh made a will‡ and died in an hour. His servants entered and removed his flesh and brought his bones to Bukhara.<sup>223</sup> He had been ruler for thirty-two years.\* Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār recited a prayer for Wāṣil (ibn) ‘Amr and buried him inside his own curtained court. He confirmed Bishr† ibn Ṭughshāda as Bukhār Khudāh, and Khālid ibn Junaid became the amīr of Bukhara.<sup>224</sup> [God knows best.]

## XXVI

*The story of Sharik ibn Shaikh al-Mahri*<sup>225</sup>

There was an Arab who lived in Bukhara and he was a brave man. He held the Shī’a faith and urged the people to support the children of the Amīr of the Faithful ‘Alī\* [may God be pleased with him], for the caliphate. He said, “We are now free from the affliction of the Marwānids. The plague of the house of ‘Abbās is not necessary for us. The children of the Prophet must be the successors of the Prophet.” Many people came to support him. The amīr of Bukhara was ‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn Shu’aib, and he gave him his loyalty.<sup>226</sup> The amīr of Khwārazm ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Harthama also pledged him allegiance, and they formed a league.<sup>227</sup> The amīr of Brzm, Mukhallad ibn Ḥusain, professed loyalty to him and joined him.<sup>228</sup> They agreed to spread this doctrine and to fight anyone who opposed it.

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† B: also.

‡ B adds: for Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār.

\* B: Qutaiba had made him ruler; E: Qutaiba and Naṣr (ibn) Saiyār made him ruler.

† B: Bashīr; D: Shirīn (*sic*).

\* B, D add: ibn ābī Ṭālib.



This news came to Abū Muslim,<sup>229</sup> and he sent Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ to Bukhara with ten thousand men.<sup>230</sup> He ordered him, "When you come to Āmūī<sup>231</sup> halt† and send out scouts to give you information on the situation of the outlaw Sharīk. Then go to Bukhara with caution." Abū Muslim departed from Merv and made camp at Kushmīhan a journey of one stage from the Āmūī road.<sup>232</sup> He gathered his army from all sides. He told Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ, "I shall remain here. If you need troops send me a message and I shall send them."

Ziyād came to Bukhara and made his camp. Sharīk ibn Shaikh, with a large army, made camp at‡ the gate of Bukhara. Most of the people of Bukhara joined him to fight Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ and Abū Muslim. They fought for thirty-seven days, and there was no day that victory was not on the side of Shaikh. Every day many soldiers of Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ were killed or taken prisoner.

Sulaimān Quraishī, patron of Haiyān (al-) Nabatī went with five hundred men up to the gate of the city.<sup>233</sup> Ḥamza al-Hamdānī came out of the city of Bukhara against him. Sulaimān had placed four hundred men in an ambush, and came with one\* hundred men to fight Ḥamza al-Hamdānī. Ḥamza thought that his force was no larger, and advanced and fought him. Then the four hundred men came out of the ambush and killed a great number of people. The rest fled into the city. Qutaiba ibn Tughshāda Bukhār Khudāh came with 10,000 men.<sup>234</sup> He raised the army (*sic*: black) banner and entered battle on the side of Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ.<sup>235</sup> He ordered the gates of the castles opened, and there were seven hundred castles at the gates of Bukhara. He ordered the people of the castles to raise the army (*sic*: black) standard. There were more inhabitants in these castles than in the city itself, but in the city there were (Arabs)† among the townspeople. There was not one Arab in the castles. Bukhār Khudāh ordered the people of the villages and the castles to lock their gates to the army of Sharīk, and not to give them

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† B, D: exert yourself.

‡ B, D: around (i.e.—near).

\* D: five hundred.

† Not in A, B, C, E, but in D, F.



food or fodder. He ordered food and fodder brought to the camp of Ziyād.

The army of Sharīk had all kinds of difficulty and was in sore straits.‡ There was starvation and their animals did not receive fodder, so they were useless for action. They finally agreed on a plan to go nearer the gate of the city so they could bring food and fodder from the city. They could stand with their backs to the city and their faces towards the enemy, and another army from the city could aid them. However they could not go in day time because the camp of Ziyād and Bukhār Khudāh blocked the road. They advanced at night until they came one parasang from the city. Ziyād received news of it. He moved forward, blocked the road, and engaged in combat. It was severe and the army of Ziyād and Bukhār Khudāh was defeated. Bukhār Khudāh said, "It is best if we attack their rearguard, for if we advance ahead of them they will seize our place and we shall be in danger. When we attack their rearguard their advance guard will rush towards the city,\* but they will quickly turn to engage in battle, then we will prevail."

So they did, and they waited till some of them had gone. Then they fell on the rearguard and engaged in battle. The (enemy) fled and arrived at Naukanda. Bukhār Khudāh said to Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ, "This group is hungry, and they have neither seen nor eaten grapes or melons this year. When they arrive at Naukanda let us wait until they are occupied with (eating) grapes and melons, and their advance guard has reached the city. Then we shall fall on them." When they (Sharīk's army) reached Naukanda they separated in search of grapes, melons, and fruit.† The advance guard had arrived at the city when Bukhār Khudāh and Ziyād attacked the (rest). They killed a great number of people, and the rest were put to flight.

Meanwhile, Sharīk ibn Shaikh, who was the leader of those people, fell from his horse and was killed. Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ dismounted at the gate of Mākh, now called the mosque of Maghāk, on the bank of a canal. He ordered the city set on fire. The

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‡ Between this army and the city was the 'Abbāsīd army.

\* B: our army will fall on their advance guard toward the city.

† B adds: and were busy.



city burned three days and nights. He ordered a proclamation that everyone who came out to him would receive amnesty. Ziyād stationed the army farther from the city so they could come out. A son of Sharīk and one of the captains of his army arrived at the gate of the city in the night. Both were seized and brought to Ziyād. He ordered them hanged. The people of the city still remained hostile, and no one came out on this proclamation. After three days Ziyād approached the gate of the city. He stayed in the castle of Bukhār Khudāh, which was by the gate of the fortress in the Rīgistān. He ordered the army to go to the city gate and begin the battle. They fought and shouted "*Allāhu akbar*" so the earth trembled. The battle was fierce. Some prominent people came out of the city\* and fought at the gate of "the spice sellers." Many people of the city were killed. Ziyād ordered anyone from the city who was captured to be hanged on the city gate. Finally the city was taken. When Ziyād had finished with Bukhara he went to Samarqand. He fought there and then returned to Khurāsān.<sup>286</sup> [God knows best.]

## XXVII

*An account of the appearance of Muqanna' and his followers of the "White Raiments"*<sup>287</sup>

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says that Muḥammad ibn Ja'far has included this chapter in his book, but it is incomplete. Ibrāhīm, who is the author of the "Account of Muqanna'," and Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī say that Muqanna' was a villager from the vicinity of Merv, from a village called Kāza.<sup>288</sup> His name was Hāshim ibn Ḥakīm. At first he was a bleacher, but afterwards he busied himself studying science. He acquired knowledge of every sort; he studied conjuring, the art of incantations, and talismans. He knew conjuring very well, and also pretended to prophecy. Maḥdī ibn Maṣṣūr killed him in the year 167/783. He learned incantations and was extremely clever. He had read many books of the science of the ancients and was a master in necromancy. His father was called Ḥakīm and he

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\* B adds: and sought amnesty.



had been one of the captains of the amīr of Khurāsān in the days of Abū Ja'far Dawāniqī (Manṣūr). He was from Balkh, and he was called Muqanna' because he kept his head and face covered. (This was) because he was exceedingly ugly; his head was bald, and he was blind in one eye. So he constantly wore a piece of green cloth over his head and face.

Muqanna' had been one of the captains of Khurāsān in the time of Abū Muslim, leader of the 'Abbāsīd revolt. Then he became the chief minister of 'Abd al-Jabbār Azdī.<sup>239</sup> He made a claim to prophecy, and this lasted for some time. So Abū Ja'far Dawāniqī sent a man to him, brought him from Merv to Baghdad and imprisoned him. After some years, when he had secured freedom, he returned to Merv.<sup>240</sup> He gathered people around him, saying, "Do you know who I am?"\* The people replied, "You are Hāshim ibn Ḥakīm." He said, "You are wrong. I am your lord and lord of all the world." [May ashes be in his mouth.] He continued, "I call myself by whatever name I wish. I am the one who showed myself to people as Adam, then in the form of Noah, also in the form of Abraham, Moses, then in the guise of Jesus, Muḥammad the Prophet, in the guise of Abū Muslim, and now in this guise which you see." The people said, "Others considered themselves prophets, but you pretend to be God." He replied, "They were corporeal. I am the soul which was in them. I have the power to be in any guise I wish to show."<sup>241</sup>

He wrote letters to every district and gave them to his missionaries. In these letters he wrote thus, "In the name of God the merciful and compassionate, I, Hāshim ibn Ḥakīm, lord of lords, to so-and-so son of such a one. Praise be to God, there is no other God than He, God of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jesus, Moses, Muḥammad, and Abū Muslim. Verily al-Muqanna' has strength, power, glory, and proof. Accept me and realize that I have dominion. [Curse him.] Glory and omnipotence are mine. There is no other God but me. [May ashes be in his mouth.] He who follows me will go to paradise, but he who does not accept me will rest in hell."

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\* D: Do you not know —.



At that time he was in Merv but his missionaries went everywhere, and he turned many people from the (true) path. In Merv there was an Arab called 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amr, who joined Muqanna' and gave him his daughter for a wife. This 'Abdallāh crossed the Oxus and came to Nakhshab and Kish.<sup>242</sup> Everywhere he induced people to follow Muqanna' [Curse him]. He turned many people from the road (of truth). In Kish and its suburbs they were (especially) numerous. The first village which joined Muqanna' and proclaimed his faith was a village of Kish called Sūbakh.<sup>243</sup> Their leader was 'Umar Sūbakhī and they raised a revolt. Their amīr was a pious Arab and they killed him. In Sughd most of the villages accepted the faith of Muqanna'. Many of the villages of Bukhara turned to infidelity and made manifest their infidelity. This evil increased and the afflictions on the Muslims became severe. They (the infidels) attacked caravans, pillaged villages, and caused much devastation.

The reason of the departure of Muqanna' for Transoxiana was this: when the news of Muqanna' was spread in Khurāsān, Hūmaid ibn Qaḥṭaba, the governor of Khurāsān, ordered him imprisoned.<sup>244</sup> He fled from his village and remained hidden till it became known to him that a large number of people had joined his faith in Transoxiana and were publicly professing his faith. He resolved to cross the Oxus river. The amīr of Khurāsān had ordered guards to watch for him on the bank of the Oxus. A hundred horsemen constantly passed up and down the river, so if he tried to cross they would seize him. He came to the bank of the Oxus with thirty-six followers, made a raft and crossed the river. He went to the district of Kish, which had submitted to him and the people esteemed him. On the mountain Sām was a very strong fortress.<sup>245</sup> In it were running water, trees, and cultivated fields.\* There was another fortress, stronger than this one, which he ordered rebuilt. There he collected much wealth and innumerable possessions, and posted guards.

The people of the "White Raiments" became numerous and the Muslims were impotent before them. A group (of fugi-

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\* So B, D; A: farmers.



tives)† came to Baghdad while Maḥdī was caliph. He became grieved and sent many troops to fight him (Muḡanna'). Finally he himself came to Nīshāpūr to put down that uprising. He feared that there was a danger that Islam would be lost and the religion of Muḡanna' would spread throughout the entire world. Muḡanna' invited the Turks and permitted them (to take) the life and possessions of the Muslims.<sup>246</sup> Many troops came from Turkistān in the hope of plunder. They pillaged the districts and carried the women and children of Muslims into captivity, and killed (others).

When first they appeared before Bukhara, a group of the "White Raiments," who were followers of Muḡanna', went to the village called Numijkat. At night they entered the mosque and killed the muezzin and fifteen people. Then they killed all of the people of the village. This was in the year 159/775-6, while the amīr of Bukhara was Ḥusain ibn Mu'ādh.<sup>247</sup> There was a man of Bukhara who was one of the leaders of the followers of Muḡanna'. He was called Ḥakīm (ibn) Aḥmad, and with him were three other captains. One was named Khshwī, the second Bāghī, both from the castle of Fuḍail,\* and the third was called Krdk<sup>248</sup> from the village Ghujduvān.<sup>249</sup> These three men were fighters, vagrants, runners,† and thieves.

After they killed the people of the village and news of this came to the city, the people of Bukhara assembled and went to the amīr. They said, "We must fight these people in 'White Raiments' with all possible means." Ḥusain ibn Mu'ādh with his troops, and the judge of Bukhara 'Āmir ibn 'Imrān with the people of Bukhara, came out (of Bukhara) in the month of Rajab of the year 159 (April 776). They went to the village of Narshakh, now called Narjaq, and there pitched camp opposite them (the "White Raiments").<sup>250</sup> The judge of Bukhara said, "I shall preach to them the true faith, for we should not fight with them." So the judge entered the village, accompanied by people of integrity, to turn them back to the true faith. They replied, "We do not know what you are saying." Every

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† B adds: Muslims.

\* B and D: Fadl.

† So A, B, C, E, F: *davende*; D: *darende* "fierce"?



day they increased their unbelief and would not accept admonition.

Then they joined in battle. The first man to attack them (the "White Raiments") was an Arab called Na'im ibn Sahl. He fought long and killed a number of people and finally was himself killed. The "White Raiments" were defeated and seven hundred of them were killed. The rest fled and the day came to an end. When it was morning they sent a messenger and asked for amnesty. They said, "We have become Muslims." Peace was made with them, and a peace treaty was written. Provisions were made forbidding them to molest the roads or to kill Muslims, and for them to disperse to their villages and obey their amir. They confirmed their faith in God and His Prophet. All of the notables of the city signed that treaty.\* When the Muslims had withdrawn, the ("White Raiments") broke the treaty. They again severed the highways and killed Muslims. They brought into the fortress of Narshakh the unripened ears of grain (of the Muslims),† and the position of the Muslims became critical.

Mahdi, who was the caliph, sent his prime minister Jibra'il ibn Yahya to fight Muqanna'.<sup>251</sup> He came to Bukhara and pitched camp before the Samarqand gate, before going to fight Muqanna'. Husain ibn Mu'adh went to him and said, "Give me aid in fighting with the 'White Raiments' (here), so that when we finish with this business I can go with you to fight Muqanna'." Jibra'il consented. He broke camp and went to the village of Narshakh and ordered a ditch dug around the village. He pitched camp in the moat and ordered the troops to be vigilant so that the "White Raiments" could not come out and attack at night. It happened just as he said. They came out the first night, made an assault and inflicted great loss. When Husain ibn Mu'adh, the amir of Bukhara, saw that he thanked Jibra'il very much and said, "Stay in Bukhara and do not go to Kish till the work is finished here." Jibra'il joined in the fray, and fought continuously for four months morning and evening.

The "White Raiments" were victorious every day and the

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\* D adds: and recorded it.

† B, D: They brought their dead (Muslims) in the fortress (*sic*).



Muslims were helpless. They sought for a ruse. Mālik ibn Fārim\* said, "I propose a plan." He ordered a tunnel dug from the camping ground to the wall of the fortress. He sent armed men into it and ordered all that was dug out to be made strong with wood, reeds, and earth, and kept covered till they came under the walls of the fortress. (He ordered) an area of fifty *gaz* (cubit) by measure to be excavated and strengthened with pillars. When a space of fifty *gaz* had been dug they filled it full of fire wood and poured oil on it. They set fire to it so the pillars would burn and the walls of the fortress would collapse. But the fire would not start, for a wind was necessary to make the fire burn and there was no way for the wind to blow into the fortress. They set up and prepared catapults against that tower under which (the tunnel) had been dug. They hurled stones and made a breach. The wind found a way and it began to burn. The pillars burned and the (walls), for an extent of fifty *gaz*, fell down. The Muslims wielded their swords and killed many people.

The remainder asked for a truce and they concluded an agreement on the same conditions they had made at first—not to cause trouble to Muslims, to return to their villages, to send their chiefs to the caliph, and not to carry arms on themselves. They concluded a treaty on these conditions and came out of the village. They crossed the trench, but they had concealed weapons. Jibra'īl entrusted their chief Ḥakīm to his son 'Abbās, and he told his son to let Ḥakīm sit in the curtained court and to kill him secretly. They obeyed his order. They brought him to the court, and stood at a distance. Jibra'īl went to his curtained court. The "White Raiments" sent Khshwī, who was a friend of Ḥakīm, to Jibra'īl to tell him they would not go without Ḥakīm. Khshwī was wearing new boots.<sup>252</sup> He was talking when 'Abbās son of Jibra'īl returned and said, "I have killed Ḥakīm." Jibra'īl ordered Khshwī pulled from his horse and killed immediately. The "White Raiments" raised a cry and brought out their weapons, and a battle began. Jibra'īl ordered his troops all to mount and enter into battle. The struggle was

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\* B: Hāzm; D: Fāzm.



more obstinate than before. They fought fiercely and finally a second time they suffered defeat. A large number of them were killed, and those who remained fled.

The head of the village of Narshakh was a woman whose husband was called Sharaf.\* He had been a captain of Abū Muslim, and the latter had killed him. This woman was brought to Jibra'īl, and with her a blind cousin, who† was very foul and wicked. Jibra'īl said to that woman, "Pardon Abū Muslim."<sup>253</sup> She replied, "Abū Muslim is called the father of Muslims. He who killed my husband cannot be the father of Muslims." Jibra'īl ordered the woman cut in two parts and her cousin also put to death.‡

Krdk went to Muqanna' but Bāghī, who was also one of them, was killed in battle. Jibra'īl brought their heads (of the dead "White Raiments") to Sughd to frighten the "White Raiments" in Sughd. The people of Sughd had an amīr of the leaders of Muqanna' called Sughdiyān.<sup>254</sup> The people of Sughd supported him and Jibra'īl had to fight many times with the inhabitants of Sughd. Finally a man of Bukhara killed Sughdiyān, and that group was dispersed.

Jibra'īl went thence to Samarqand where he fought much with the Turks and the "White Raiments" till Mu'ādh ibn Muslim became the amīr of Khurāsān.<sup>255</sup> The latter came to Merv in the year 161/777-8 and began activity from there. He passed through the desert of Āmūī. When he arrived at Bukhara, from the people of Bukhara [the farmers], 570,000 (*sic*) warriors were assembled.\* Mu'ādh ibn Muslim ordered many implements of war made. He made ready three thousand workers equipped with axes, spades, buckets, and hatchets, and also all sorts of artisans who are useful in an army.† He built catapults and ballistae, and with the best (possible) organization he moved towards Sughd. In Sughd there were many "White Raiments" and many Turkish troops had come.

\* B, D: Srv. A, from Meshed manuscript: Ashraf.

† B: the woman was —.

‡ D: cut off his head.

\* B, D: farmers and soldiers were assembled (B: 75) strong.

† B, D add: swords, tubs, and spears.



The amīr of Herat had brought 10,000 sheep from Herat, which were all with him.<sup>256</sup> Mu'ādh ibn Muslim told him, "Here the Turks, our adversaries, are near,† and they love sheep very much. Send these sheep to Bukhara, or sell them to me so I may divide them among the troops." He did not consent to do either. A troop of Turks came, attacked, and carried away all of those sheep to a place between Arbinjan and Zarmān.<sup>257</sup> The troops went in pursuit of them.\*\* Some (of the Turks) were killed and they ('Abbāsīd forces) returned. Mu'ādh ibn Muslim went to Sughd and Samarqand and fought a great deal with the Turks and the "White Raiments." In the course of two years sometimes he was victorious and sometimes his enemies. After two years he requested retirement and Musaiyab ibn Zuhair al-Dabbī became the amīr of Khurāsān in Merv on Jumādā 'l-Ūlā of the year 163 (January-February, 780).<sup>258</sup> In the month of Rajab (March-April) he came to Bukhara. The amīr of Bukhara was Junaid ibn Khālid. The amīr of Khurāsān sent him to Khwārazm.

In Bukhara there was a captain of Muqanna' called Kūlār Tekīn with an army and a guard prepared.<sup>259</sup> (The amīr) had to fight with him.

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far has related that 50,000 men of the army of Muqanna', composed of the people of Transoxiana, the Turks, and others, gathered at the gate of the fortress of Muqanna' and prostrated themselves and cried that they wanted a sight of him. They received no answer. Then they entreated him and said, "We shall not leave if we do not obtain a view of our lord." (Muqanna') had a slave called Ḥājib. Muqanna' told him, "Tell my followers [ashes in his mouth] that Moses requested a sight of me. I did not show myself to him for he did not have the power (to endure it). He who sees me cannot stand it and dies instantly." They remonstrated and increased their demand, and said, "We want a sight (of him).\* If we perish it doesn't matter." He promised them that on a certain day, if they came, he would show himself to them. Then he

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† D: numerous.

\*\* B adds: and fought with them.

\* D adds: now.



issued commands to the women who were with him in the fortress. There were one hundred of the daughters of the *dihqāns* of Sughd, Kish and Nakhshab, whom he had with him.

He had a custom that wherever there was a beautiful woman, she was shown to him, and he brought her to live with him. There was no one in the castle except these women and that particular slave. Whatever food they needed was brought to the fortress once every day. Outside there was an agent who brought whatever was necessary. The slave requested it from him and brought it into the castle. No one had seen his (Muqanna's) hideous face for he wore a green veil on his face.<sup>260</sup>

Then he ordered the women, each to take a mirror and climb to the roof of the castle. Then they were to hold them next to one another at the time the sunlight struck the ground. They were to take all of the mirrors in their hands and hold them together without a space between. A crowd gathered. When the sunlight fell on those mirrors the area was filled with light from the reflection of the mirrors. Then he told the slave to tell his followers that God is showing his face to them, and look! They looked\* and saw all of the world full of light. They became afraid and all in one motion prostrated themselves. They said, "Oh lord! this glory and power, which we saw, is enough. If we see more of this we shall perish from fear." They remained prostrated till Muqanna' ordered his slave to tell his followers to raise their heads, for their lord is pleased with them and forgives their sins. That group raised their heads from prostration with fear and fright.<sup>261</sup> Then he said, "I grant you all districts, and the life, possessions, and children of him who does not join me, are legal for you." [Ashes in his mouth.] From there that group turned to plundering and they boasted to others, "We have seen God."

## XXVIII

### *The cause of the destruction of Muqanna'*<sup>262</sup>

Sa'id, the amir of Herat, was encamped at the gate of his

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\* B: They approached and stared.



(Muqanna's) fortress with a large army. He had houses and baths constructed and remained there summer and winter. Inside the fortress was a spring of water, trees, and sown fields.\* His (Muqanna's) close associates and generals, with a powerful army, were in the fortress. In the fortress was a castle on top of a hill,† and no one was allowed to enter that castle. He stayed in the castle with his women. He had the custom of eating and drinking wine every day with those women.‡ So he passed fourteen years in this manner. When the amīr of Herat made his situation critical, and his forces became scattered, the general who was in the fortress opened the gate and came out to submit. He accepted Islam. The Muslims seized the fortress and Muqanna' knew he could not hold out in the inner castle.

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far related (a story) from Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Hārūn, a *dihqān* of Kish, who said his grandmother was one of the group of women whom Muqanna' had taken for himself and held in the castle. She related "One day Muqanna' had his women sit, eat, and drink as was his custom. He put poison in the wine. He ordered each woman (to take) a separate cup and said, 'When I drink my cup you must all drink yours.' Then all drank except me. I poured it in my collar and he did not realize it. All the women fell down and died. I also threw myself among them and feigned death, so he did not know my condition. Then Muqanna' rose, looked and saw all of his women dead. He went to his slave, struck with his sword, and cut off his head.

He had ordered an oven heated for three days. He approached the oven, took off his robe and threw himself into the oven. Then smoke came out. I went over to that oven and saw no trace of him. There was no one alive in that castle. The reason for his burning himself alive was that he used to say, 'When my followers become rebellious I shall go to heaven to bring angels to chastise them.' He burned himself\* so the

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\* A: farmers. I choose the reading of B and D.

† D adds: very strong.

‡ B adds: but he did not drink.

\* B adds: and no trace was left of him.



people would say that he had gone to heaven to bring angels, to give them assistance from the sky, so his faith would remain in the world." Then that woman opened the gate of the fortress and Sa'īd Ḥarashī entered and seized his treasury.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says that those people still remain in the districts of Kish and Nakhshab and some of the villages of Bukhara, like the castle of 'Umar, the castle of Khākhushuvān and the village of Zarmān.†<sup>263</sup> They themselves have no knowledge about Muqanna', but they accept his faith.<sup>264</sup> Their religion is such that they neither pray, nor fast, nor do they wash after sexual intercourse.‡ Still they remain in safety, and concealing all of those conditions from the Muslims, they claim to be Muslims. It is said that they allow their women free for one another. They say a woman is like a flower, (no matter) who smells it, nothing is detracted from it. When a man comes to a woman in private he puts a mark on the door of the house, so when the husband of this woman arrives he knows that this woman is in the house with a man. He goes away\* and when the other man is finished he returns to his home. They have a chief in each village whom they obey.

Story: It is said that they have a man in each village who, whenever anyone wants to take a virgin in marriage, first destroys her virginity, and after that surrenders her to her husband.† Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says, "I asked the elders of the village what was the sense of allowing such great pleasure to this one man, while the rest were deprived of it. They said that their rule was that every youth who reached maturity should satisfy his need with this person until he should marry a woman. His repayment for that was that the wife should remain with him the first night. When this man became old, another would be appointed in his place. The men of the village continually have dealings with this man. The name of such a person who does this work is *thkāna*.‡ I do not know if

† A: Razmān, B: Rāzmān.

‡ D: They do not wash the penis —.

\* B adds: and leaves them in peace.

† This sentence has been censored in B. It begins, "Every one of the people of the village a woman. Aḥmad ibn Muḥ., etc."

‡ A, B, D, E: *tkāna*.



this affair is true. I heard this story from the elders of the village, and from the inhabitants who live in these villages. May God preserve us from that."<sup>265</sup>

## XXIX

### *An account of the beginning of the rule of the Sāmānid family, may God show mercy on them*

It has been mentioned before that Sāmān Khudāh had a son whom he named Asad, out of friendship for Asad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qushairī. Asad had four sons, Nūḥ, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā, and Ilyās. When Rāfi' ibn Laith<sup>266</sup> revolted against Hārūn al-Rashīd and seized Samarqand, Hārūn al-Rashīd sent Harthama ibn Ā'yan to fight him.<sup>267</sup> Rāfi' fortified Samarqand and Harthama was unable to do anything. Ma'mūn had come with Hārūn al-Rashīd to Khurāsān because of this affair. Hārūn was very concerned about this difficulty. Ma'mūn wrote a letter to the sons of Asad and ordered them to aid Harthama in the war against Rāfi'. The sons of Asad induced Rāfi' to make peace with Harthama. Marriage alliances were made between them, and Hārūn was freed from that worry. There was a danger that Rāfi' would seize all of Khurāsān. This outcome was considered good\* fortune by Ma'mūn. On this trip Hārūn died at Tūs (*sic*).<sup>268</sup>

When the caliphate passed to Ma'mūn, Ghassān ibn 'Abbād became the amīr of Khurāsān.<sup>269</sup> Ma'mūn ordered him to give the children of Asad ibn Sāmān Khudāh districts (to rule) among the cities of Khurāsān. He gave each an important city in recognition of what they had done. Ghassān ibn 'Abbād made Nūḥ ibn Asad the amīr of Samarqand and Aḥmad ibn Asad the amīr of Merv.<sup>270</sup> This was in the year 202/817-818.† When Ghassān was recalled from Khurāsān, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusain became the amīr and confirmed these districts on them. He gave a robe of honor to Nūḥ ibn Asad the eldest, who was in Samarqand till he died. He (Nūḥ) made his brother Aḥmad

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\* D: dubious.

† B, C, D, E: 292.



ibn Asad his successor. Aḥmad ibn Asad was a learned and pious man. He lived in Samarqand until he died. He (Aḥmad) named his son, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad, his successor. When he sat in his father's place there came a mandate from the caliph Wāthiq bi'llāh (*sic*) for (the rule of) the provinces of Transoxiana, in his name.<sup>271</sup> The date was Saturday\* the first day of the month of Ramaḍān of the year 251/(Wednesday, September 26, 865; *sic*—261/875).

## XXX

*The beginning of the rule of the past amīr Abū  
Ibrāhīm Isma'īl ibn Aḥmad al-Sāmānī*

He was the first ruler of the Sāmānids. He was really a worthy ruler, meritorious, intelligent, just, kind, and a man of vision and foresight. He always showed obedience to the caliphs, and he found it proper and necessary to submit to them. On Saturday, in the middle of Rabī' the second of the year 287 (April 900), he took 'Amr (ibn) Laith prisoner at Balkh, and conquered his kingdom.<sup>272</sup> He ruled for a period of eight years. In the year 295/907 he died in Bukhara [*lit.*—he joined the nearness of the mercy of God]. [May God show him mercy and forgive his sins.]<sup>273</sup>

He was born\* in Ferghāna in the month of Shawwāl 234 (May 849).<sup>274</sup> When he was sixteen† years old his father died. The amīr Naṣr, who was his elder brother, held him in high esteem. He served the amīr Naṣr. When Ḥusain ibn Ṭāhir al-Ṭāī came to Bukhara from Khwārazm in Rabī' the second of the year 260 (January 874), fighting occurred between him and the people of Bukhara.<sup>275</sup> After five days he secured possession of the city. He made the people of Bukhara forsake city and village.‡ He killed many people. He allowed the Khwārazmians to plunder and confiscate.\*\* At night they broke

\* E: Tuesday.

\* A and C have: his province was Ferghāna. D, E, F have: born. I choose the latter. B: In the history of Mustaufī it is recorded that his province was —.

† D: fifteen.

‡ D: Hostility occurred between Ḥusain and the inhabitants.

\*\* B: to rob the wealthy people of the city.



into the houses by force. They committed serious crimes and seized property.<sup>276</sup> The people of Bukhara came out to fight against them, and many people were killed. A third part of the city burned. When the inhabitants of the city began to prevail, he (Husain) made a proclamation and made peace. When the people who had gathered and had engaged in battle heard the news of the peace, they dispersed. Some went to their villages. When Husain ibn [al]-Tāhir realized that the people had dispersed he wielded his sword and killed a great many people.\*

The struggle began again and Husain ibn Tāhir was defeated. They fought the entire day. When it became night he fortified the gate of a castle. A group watched the gate of the castle so as to catch him† (Husain).<sup>277</sup> He had seized the entire tax of Bukhara, all in Ghidrifi *dirhams*. He had them piled in the court and wanted to convert (melt) them all to silver but did not have time.‡ At night he made a hole in the wall and fled with his followers, destitute and hungry.\*\* The Ghidrifi *dirhams* remained (in the castle). The people heard of this and entered and plundered that property. Many people became rich from these possessions, and the residue remained with their children. It was said in the city that such a one became rich from the court of Husain ibn Tāhir.

After he had fled all of the people of Bukhara had many quarrels and clashes among themselves.\*\*\* The learned and upright people of Bukhara gathered about Abū 'Abdallāh the jurist, son of Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ the great.<sup>278</sup> He was a fighter. They consulted him regarding the affairs of Bukhara. There was no amīr in Khurāsān, for Ya'qūb ibn Laith had seized Khurāsān by force and Rāfi' ibn Harthama was fighting against him.\* There were other disturbances in Khurāsān and Bukhara was being destroyed by these evils.†<sup>279</sup>

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\* D adds: of the city of Bukhara.

† B: to seize his treasure.

‡ B: peace.

\*\* B: They fled and hid in the villages.

\*\*\* B adds: and Husain Khwārazmī was unable to control them.

\* A adds: in Bukhara (*sic*).

† B adds: but Husain Khwārazmī was amīr in Bukhara and the *khuṭba* was read in the name of Ya'qūb ibn Laith, governor of Khurāsān.



Then Abū 'Abdallāh, son of Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ, wrote a letter to Samarqand to Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad al-Sāmānī, who was the amīr of Samarqand and Ferghāna, and requested an amīr for Bukhara from him. He sent his brother Isma'īl ibn Aḥmad, to Bukhara. When the amīr Isma'īl came to Karmīna he remained there several days and sent a messenger to Bukhara to Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad al-Khawārijī,† who was (then) the amīr of Bukhara. His messenger went several times and returned before it was decided that the amīr Isma'īl should be amīr of Bukhara and Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad al-Khawārijī‡ his successor.\*\* His (Khawārijī's) army gave allegiance on this condition. Amīr Isma'īl sent a diploma of successorship\*\* to Khawārijī with a banner and robe of honor. Khawārijī went throughout the city with the banner and robe, and the people of the city rejoiced. This was on a Tuesday, and on Friday the *khutba* was read in the name of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad. The name of Ya'qūb (ibn) Laith was struck out before Amīr Isma'īl's entry into the city. That (occurred) on the first Friday of the blessed month of Ramaḍān of the year 260 (*ca.* 25 June 874). The son of Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ the great [may God bless them both] came out to meet him. With him were all of the nobles of Bukhara, both Arabs and natives, and they came with him to Karmīna. Abū 'Abdallāh ordered the city decorated.<sup>280</sup>

Amīr Isma'īl regretted that he had come to Bukhara without a large retinue, for Bukhara was in turmoil and a riot had begun. He did not know how the people of Bukhara felt (in their hearts) towards him. When Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Khwāja Abū Ḥafṣ came out and went to Karmīna his (Isma'īl's) heart was calmed. He knew that whatever Abū 'Abdallāh did the people of the city would not go against him. His resolution was strengthened. Abū 'Abdallāh praised him very much, and his heart was soothed. When he was brought into the city they showed him honor and respect. He (Abū 'Abdallāh) ordered the people of the city to scatter much gold and silver on him.<sup>281</sup>

† B: Khwārazmī.

\*\* The word is *khalifa* "successor," but I wonder if lieutenant is meant.



Amīr Isma'īl seized Ḥusain al-Khawārijī† and sent him to prison. The strife ceased by the power of God the Exalted.

## XXXI

*The entry of the amīr Isma'īl into Bukhara*

It was on Monday, the twelfth day of the blessed month of Ramaḍān of the year 260 (*ca.* 1 July 874).<sup>\*282</sup> Because of this the city was quiet and the people of Bukhara were delivered from trouble and enjoyed peace. In the same year the amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad was sent a diploma for the rule of all of the districts of Transoxiana, from the Oxus river to the extremity of the lands of the East, from the caliph Muwaffaq bi'llāh.<sup>283</sup> The *khutba* of Bukhara was read in the names of the amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad and the amīr Isma'īl, and the name of Ya'qūb (ibn) Laith Ṣaffār was dropped from the *khutba*.<sup>284</sup> Amīr Isma'īl lived some time in Bukhara and after that went to Samarqand, without waiting for an order from the amīr Naṣr. He left his nephew Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad as his deputy in Bukhara.<sup>285</sup> When he arrived in Rīshkhan (*sic* Rabinjan) the amīr Naṣr received news and became angry at his coming without permission. He ordered him (Isma'īl) to be received but himself did not come out. He did not honor him, but ordered him escorted to the fortress of Samarqand. The chief of police of Samarqand represented him (Naṣr). Thus he (Naṣr) showed his displeasure at him. Amīr Isma'īl went to greet him (Naṣr) because he had not done so since his departure to Bukhara. Muḥammad ibn 'Umar was made his (Naṣr's) deputy. Amīr Isma'īl came with greeting and remained standing an hour; then he left. Amīr Naṣr did not speak a word with him.†

It was like this for thirteen months. (Isma'īl) had his cousin Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ and 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Ḥamza intercede for him, to send him back to Bukhara. He (Naṣr)\* appointed

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† B: Khwārazmī.

\* B adds: that on behalf of Amīr Naṣr he came from Samarqand to Bukhara.

† This section is confused and rearranged in all MSS.

\* My surmise; it could mean Isma'īl.



‘Iṣmat ibn Muḥammad al-Marvazī his (Isma‘īl’s) chief minister and Faḍl ibn Aḥmad al-Marvazī his secretary.† Amīr Naṣr, with all of his principal chiefs and friends in Samarqand, came out to bid farewell to Isma‘īl. At this interval the amīr Naṣr turned his face towards ‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn Ḥamza, and said, “Oh Abu’l-Faṭḥ! I am sending this youth, what may I expect of him?” ‘Abd al-Jabbār said, “Do not speak thus, for he is your servant. Whatever you order the amīr Isma‘īl will do it and will never oppose you. I speak the truth.” Then he added, “What is your opinion?” Amīr Naṣr replied, “In his eyes and disposition I see rebellion and disobedience.” When the amīr Isma‘īl arrived at Bukhara the inhabitants received him and brought him in the city with full honors.

A thief had gathered around him a group of ruffians‡ and rogues of the villages; four thousand men had been assembled. They cut the road between Rāmitīn and Barkad, and had almost begun to attack the city. Amīr Isma‘īl sent Ḥusain ibn al-‘Alā, his chief of police, to fight these thieves. He had built the walls of Bukhara, and the quarter of ‘Alā was named after him. The nobles and chiefs of Bukhara aided him. They fought the thieves and defeated them. Ḥusain ibn al-‘Alā obtained victory. He captured the most important of the thieves, killed him and brought back his head. He also captured a large number who had followed him. The amīr Isma‘īl bound them and sent them to Samarqand.

When this affair was finished, news arrived that Ḥusain ibn Ṭāhir had come with two thousand men to Āmūī with the intention (of attacking) Bukhara.<sup>286</sup> Amīr Isma‘īl assembled as much of an army as he could and went to battle. News came that Ḥusain ibn Ṭāhir had crossed the Oxus with two thousand Khwārazmians. Amīr Isma‘īl mounted, advanced, and they fought a fierce battle. Ḥusain ibn Ṭāhir was defeated and some of his troops were killed and others drowned in the river. Seventy men were taken captive. This was the first war of the amīr Isma‘īl. When it was morning the amīr (Isma‘īl) sum-

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† B: for “secretary” has “was removed.”

‡ D: dissatisfied people.



moned the captives, gave each one a cotton garment, and dismissed them.

Husain ibn Ṭāhir went to Merv and the amīr Isma'īl returned to Bukhara and investigated the state of the kingdom. He found that the nobles of Bukhara did not show him sufficient honor. There was no respect in their eyes and their gathering together did not portend good for him. So he resolved on the following good course of action. He addressed a group of the prominent people of Bukhara and said, "You must go to Samarqand on my behalf and speak to the amīr Naṣr, to request pardon for me."\* They replied, "We hear and obey." They asked several days respite before they left. This group was composed of former amīrs of Bukhara, before the amīr Isma'īl. Abu Muḥammad Bukhār Khudāh himself had been ruler† of Bukhara, and Abū Ḥātim Yasārī was very wealthy.<sup>287</sup> Because of their great wealth they were disobedient. The nobles of Bukhara went with these two to Samarqand. Amīr Isma'īl wrote a letter to the amīr Naṣr to imprison them, so he could consolidate the rule of Bukhara. Amīr Naṣr did that and retained those people there for some\* time till he (Isma'īl) quieted Bukhara. Amīr Isma'īl again sent a letter to the amīr Naṣr and sought their release. After that the amīr Isma'īl was friendly to them and fulfilled their needs. He saw the propriety of his fulfilling their just dues.

Naṣr ibn Aḥmad had stipulated from Isma'īl 500,000 *dirhams* a year of the income of Bukhara.† After (Isma'īl) had to fight, he spent the money and could not send (that amount) any more. Amīr Naṣr sent messengers for that money,‡ but he (Isma'īl) did not send it. Because of this strife appeared between them.<sup>288</sup> Amīr Naṣr collected an army and wrote a letter to Ferghāna, to his brother Abu'l-Ash'ath requesting him to come with a large army. He wrote another letter to Shāsh, to another brother, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Aḥmad, to come with his

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\* B adds: and respite.

† D: son of a ruler.

\* D: a long time.

† B adds: He sent it, but after —.

‡ B adds: which had been stipulated.



army,\*\* and to bring the Turks of Istijāb (*sic* Isfijāb). A large army assembled.

He set out for Bukhara in the month of Rajab of the year 272 (December 885). When the amīr Isma'īl heard of it he evacuated Bukhara and went to Farab out of respect for his brother. Amīr Naṣr came to Bukhara. When he did not find the amīr Isma'īl he went to Baikand and remained there. The people of Baikand received him. They showered gold and silver on him and brought out many gifts. There was friendship between the amīr Isma'īl and Rāfi' ibn Harthama, who at that time was the amīr of Khurāsān.<sup>289</sup> Amīr Isma'īl wrote him a letter and requested help from him. Rāfi' came with his army. The Oxus was frozen and he crossed on the ice. When the amīr Naṣr received news of the coming of Rāfi' he returned to Bukhara.

Amīr Isma'īl agreed with Rāfi' to go and capture Samarqand. This news came to Naṣr and he quickly went to Ṭawāis and blocked the way. Amīr Isma'īl and Rāfi' went by the desert route. All of the villages of Bukhara were in the possession of the amīr Naṣr. They did not find any food or forage in the desert. There was a famine that year, and it was very difficult for them, so that a *man* of bread in their army cost three\* *dirhams*.<sup>290</sup> A large number of Rāfi's troops perished from hunger. Amīr Naṣr wrote to his son Aḥmad in Samarqand to gather volunteers from Sughd of Samarqand. The people of the district did not give the amīr Isma'īl fodder. They said, "These are rebels. It is not lawful for us to give them aid." Yet the amīr Naṣr, because of the coming of Rāfi', was discouraged. He went to Karmina, and they (Isma'īl and Rāfi') followed him.

A person gave counsel to Rāfi' and said, "You left your territory and came here. If the two brothers become reconciled and attack you between them,† what can you do?" Rāfi', hearing these words, began to be afraid. He sent a messenger to the amīr Naṣr and said, "I did not come for war, but to reconcile you." Amīr Naṣr was pleased with these words and they made

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\*\* B adds: and also to bring the nobles with him.

\* B: thirty.

† D adds: and annihilate you and seize Khurāsān.



peace on the condition that the amīr of Bukhara would be another person, while the amīr Isma'īl would be the revenue collector. The affairs of the chancellery and the *khutba* would not be in his name.\* Every year he would have to send 500,000 *dirhams*. He (Rāfi') saluted the amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, as well as Ishāq ibn Aḥmad.† He (Naṣr) gave the latter a robe of honor, and also gave him the governorship of Bukhara. Amīr Isma'īl agreed to that. Amīr Naṣr returned (to Samarqand), while Rāfi' also left for Khurāsān. This was in the year 273/886.

Fifteen months after this event, the amīr Naṣr sent a man to obtain the money. Amīr Isma'īl held back the money and did not send it. Amīr Naṣr then sent a letter to Rāfi', for the latter had given surety.‡ Rāfi' also wrote a letter to the amīr Isma'īl in this sense. Amīr Isma'īl did not pay any attention to it. Amīr Naṣr again collected an army, all from the inhabitants of Transoxiana. Abu'l-Ash'ath came from Ferghāna, and they went towards Bukhara again, just as before. They advanced and when they arrived in Karmīna the amīr Isma'īl also gathered his army and went to Ṭawāīs.

They joined in battle, and the conflict was stubborn. Ishāq ibn Aḥmad fled in defeat to Farab. Amīr Isma'īl made a strong attack on the people of Ferghāna and Abū'l Ash'ath fled in defeat to Samarqand. The people of Samarqand wanted to seize him because he had abandoned his brother and fled. (So) Abu'l-Ash'ath returned from Samarqand and came to Rabinjan. Amīr Isma'īl made Aḥmad ibn Mūsā Marzūq prisoner and sent him to Bukhara. The army of Bukhara was again defeated. Amīr Isma'īl remained on the spot with only a small number of followers. Among the well-known with him was Sīmā' l-Kabīr. Amīr Isma'īl sent a man to collect all of the slaves and clients who had fled. He brought Ishāq ibn Aḥmad back from Farab.<sup>291</sup> Two thousand volunteers came from Bukhara and a strong\* army assembled. He gave all of them rations.

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\* B: would be in thy (Naṣr's) name.

† Unclear; B: he (Rāfi') read the letters (terms?) to Naṣr.

‡ B adds: that the money would be sent.

\* A and C: *qarī* "village," but *qavī* in B, D, is preferable. D: "archers" for "volunteers."



Amīr Naṣr went to Rabinjan, prepared his army, and returned. Amīr Isma'īl went before him to a village Wāzbdīn.<sup>292</sup> They assembled there and joined battle on Tuesday, the fifteenth day of the month of the second Jumādā of the year 275 (26 October 888). Amīr Isma'īl was victorious over the army of Ferghāna and Abu'l-Ash'ath fled in defeat.† The entire army was defeated. Amīr Naṣr remained with a few men, but he too was defeated. Amīr Isma'īl called to a group of Khwārazmians to keep away from the amīr Naṣr, then he (Isma'īl) descended from his horse and kissed his (Naṣr's) stirrup.

Sīmā'l-Kabīr had been a slave of their father, and was (Isma'īl's) commander-in-chief. He received the news and sent a person to inform Isma'īl.‡ Naṣr ibn Aḥmad dismounted from his horse, put down a cushion and sat on it. Amīr Isma'īl arrived and jumped off his horse, came to Naṣr and kissed the cushion and said, "Oh amīr! This was the will of God which made me (victorious) over you. I see His great work today with my own eyes." Amīr Naṣr replied, "I was surprised at what you did, since you did not obey your amīr and did not observe the mandate which God the Exalted placed on you." Amīr Isma'īl said, "Oh amīr, I acknowledge that I committed an error, and it is all my fault. You are better (than I) in kindness, so that you will let pass this great sin, and forgive me."

They were speaking thus when another brother, Ishāq ibn Aḥmad arrived and did not dismount from his horse. Amīr Isma'īl said, "Oh fellow, why don't you dismount (before) your superior?" He scolded him and was angry at him. Ishāq quickly dismounted and fell at Naṣr's feet. He kissed the ground and asked forgiveness, (saying), "My horse was unmanageable and I could not dismount quickly."

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† D: Amīr Isma'īl was afraid because of the size of the army of amīr Naṣr. Isma'īl attacked the army of Ferghāna and Abu'l-Ash'ath fled before amīr Isma'īl to Ferghāna and another brother, Abū Yūsuf, also fled.

‡ This is obviously defective. D has a better version: A group of Khwārazmians attacked Naṣr and wanted to kill him, but Sīmā'l-Kabīr saw the Khwārazmians from afar and cried (to them). He removed them from the amīr Naṣr; then he dismounted from his horse and kissed (Naṣr's) stirrup. B: He advised his benefactor (Isma'īl) not to show hostility. (Isma'īl) agreed.



When these words were finished the amīr Isma'īl said, "Oh amīr, it is best that you quickly return to your home before news of this arrives there and your subjects in Transoxiana revolt." Amīr Naṣr asked, "Oh Abū Ibrāhīm, are you going to send me back to my place?" Isma'īl replied, "If I do not do this what should I do? (Between) a slave and his master no other arrangement is possible.\* Whatever you wish (is yours)."<sup>†</sup> Amīr Naṣr spoke and tears rolled down his cheek. He repented that he had embarked (on the war) and the blood which had been spilt. Then he rose and mounted (his horse). Amīr Isma'īl and his brother Ishāq held the stirrups and sent him on his way. He sent Sīmā'l-Kabīr and 'Abdallāh ibn Muslim as escorts. They went one march and the amīr Naṣr sent them back while he continued to Samarqand. On the same day that Naṣr ibn Aḥmad had been made a prisoner,\* he spoke to that group (the people of Samarqand) in the same (manner) as when he was the amīr. He sat on the throne and they stood in service before him. Four years later the amīr Naṣr died, seven days before the end of the month of Jumādā the first of the year 279 (21 August 892). He named the amīr Isma'īl his successor over all of the provinces of Transoxiana. He placed another brother, and his own son, under him (Isma'īl).<sup>293</sup>

When the amīr Naṣr died the amīr Isma'īl went from Bukhara to Samarqand and brought the kingdom in order. He appointed his (Naṣr's) son Aḥmad ibn Naṣr his deputy (in Samarqand). He undertook raiding expeditions from there.<sup>294</sup> Amīr Isma'īl returned to Bukhara, and he had been there twenty years before his brother died and gave all of Transoxiana to him.

When the news of the death of the amīr Naṣr came to the Commander of the Faithful Mu'taḍid bi'llāh, (279-289/892-902) he gave the amīr Isma'īl a mandate for the dominion of Transoxiana in the month of Muḥarram of 280 (March or April 893). At the same time he (Isma'īl) went to fight at Ṭarāz, where he experienced great difficulty. Finally the amīr of Ṭarāz came

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\* D adds: I am the slave and you are the master.

† B adds: do it.

\* D: was released.



out with many *dihqāns* and accepted Islam. Ṭarāz was thus subjugated. A† large church was transformed into a grand mosque, and the *khutba* was read in the name of the Commander of the Faithful Mu'taḍid bi'llāh. Amīr Isma'īl returned to Bukhara with much booty.<sup>295</sup>

He ruled seven years and was the amīr of Transoxiana at the time 'Amr (ibn) Laith became powerful\* and seized a part of Khurāsān, and began to make raids. 'Alī ibn Ḥusain, the amīr (of Merv)† requested help from Aḥmad, the amīr of Gūzgāniyān, but not receiving a favorable answer, he crossed the Oxus and came to the amīr Isma'īl in Bukhara.<sup>296</sup> The amīr was pleased and went out to meet him with troops, and with great honor and respect he brought him to Bukhara and sent him many gifts. 'Alī ibn Ḥusain went to Farab (from Bukhara) and remained there thirteen months. Amīr Isma'īl continually sent gifts to him and held him in esteem. 'Alī ibn Ḥusain remained there till his (Isma'īl's?) son killed him in battle.

'Amr (ibn) Laith sent a letter to Abū Dāūd, the amīr of Balkh, to Aḥmad ibn Farīghūn, the amīr of Gūzgāniyān, and to the amīr Isma'īl of Transoxiana calling on them to submit to him.<sup>297</sup> He offered good treaties. The (first two) went at his command and entered his service. A messenger came to the amīr Isma'īl and gave him a letter. He told of the submission of the amīrs of Balkh and Gūzgāniyān, and said, "You are more powerful and worthy of giving submission, for you know the worth of imperial dignity as you (were born) a prince." Amīr Isma'īl answered, "Is your master so ignorant that he placed me on the same level as them? They are my subjects.‡ My answer to you is with the sword. There can only be war between us. Return and tell him to prepare the weapons of war."<sup>298</sup>

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† B: their large church.

\* D adds: and became amīr of Khurāsān. First he seized part of Khurāsān and began to raid Merv.

† Omitted in A, C, F; Merv in D, E; Bukhara in B.

‡ D: thy slaves.

\*\* B adds: The messenger returned from amīr Isma'īl and reported what he had heard to 'Amr (ibn) Laith.



'Amr (ibn) Laith consulted his amīrs and nobles\* and requested aid from them in the affair with the amīr Isma'īl. He† said, "Another person must be sent to speak peacefully. We must give him good conditions." Then he sent (to Isma'īl) a group of the elders of Nishāpūr and some of his nobles. He wrote a letter in which it was recalled, "Although the Commander of the Faithful has given me this territory, I make you a partner in the rule. You must be friendly to me and regard me well so there will be no dispute between us. Let friendship and harmony exist between us. Whatever I have previously said was from rashness. I have passed over that. You must guard the province of Transoxiana which is the boundary to the enemy. (You must also) take care of your subjects. I confer that province on you, and wish you only prosperity and thriving, not your house and possessions." He sent some of the notables of Nishāpūr. He went to his father's (grave) swore an oath and made them his confidants.‡ He continued, "I trust no one except you (amīr Isma'īl). You must have faith in me and make a covenant with me, so our friendship will be strengthened."

When news of 'Amr (ibn) Laith came to the amīr (Isma'īl) he sent (soldiers) to the bank of the river, not to allow them (the envoys) to cross. Whatever had been brought by them was neither received nor transmitted (to Isma'īl). It was sent back with scorn. 'Amr (ibn) Laith became angry and prepared for war. He ordered 'Alī ibn Surūsh,\* his general, to go with an army to Āmūya, to halt there and not to make haste to cross until he was ordered. He sent after him another general Muḥammad ibn Laith with 5,000 men. He told him (Muḥammad) to take counsel with 'Alī ibn Surūsh and hold back the army. "Whoever comes from there (Bukhara) for peace, give it and treat him well. Prepare boats and send out scouts."<sup>299</sup>

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\* D adds: of Nishāpūr.

† D: they.

‡ In D this is a continuation of the letter to Isma'īl: "I have sent some of the notables of Nishāpūr, and have taken counsel with them and sworn a covenant, and have taken them as my witnesses to the words I have written."

\* B: Prvsh; D: Shrvīn; E: Srvīn.



'Amr (ibn) Laith continued to send troops. When the amīr Isma'īl heard of this he hastened from Bukhara with 20,000 men and came to the bank of the Oxus. He made a surprise move and crossed the Oxus at night. 'Alī ibn Surūsh† heard of this, quickly mounted and armed his troops. He sent the infantry ahead and they began the battle. The army of the amīr Isma'īl attacked from all sides and the struggle was fierce.<sup>300</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Surūsh retreated and was captured.‡ Many of the notables of Nīshāpūr were also taken prisoner. The next day the amīr Isma'īl (treated) the troops of 'Amr (ibn) Laith kindly, gave them provisions, and sent them back to 'Amr (ibn) Laith. The chiefs of the army of Isma'īl said, "How can you give garments and send back those who fought against us and were captured?" Amīr Isma'īl replied, "What do you want from these unfortunates? Allow them to go to their country and they will never fight against you again. They will influence the hearts of others." Amīr Isma'īl returned to Bukhara with much silver, clothes, gold and weapons.

After that 'Amr (ibn) Laith remained a year in Nīshāpūr in melancholy and sorrow, grief, and remorse. He used to say, "I want revenge for 'Alī (ibn) Surūsh and his son."<sup>301</sup> When the amīr Isma'īl received news that 'Amr (ibn) Laith was preparing for war,\* he gathered his army. He gave them rations and moved against them (the foe) from all sides.† He gave rations to the capable and the unfit, even to scoundrels; he gave rations to all.<sup>302</sup> The population became discontent at this.‡ They said, "Does he expect to fight 'Amr (ibn) Laith with this army?"

Information of this came to 'Amr (ibn) Laith and he became happy. He (Isma'īl) was on the bank of the Oxus. Manṣūr Qarātekīn and Pārs Baikandī came to Āmūya from Khwārazm.<sup>303</sup> Thirty thousand men arrived from Turkistān and

† B adds: who was the brother of 'Amr (ibn) Laith.

‡ So all MSS. Should one read Muḥammad *and* 'Alī? D adds: Bishr was killed and the army of 'Alī was annihilated. I believe D is correct. Cf. note 300, where a Bishr is mentioned in other sources.

\* B adds: was in Nīshāpūr.

† D: they gathered to him (Isma'īl) from all sides.

‡ B, D: they were amazed at this and gathered and said.



Ferghāna. On the twenty-fifth of Dhū'l Qa'da he (Isma'īl) sent Muḥammad ibn Hārūn with the advance guard of the army. The next day he himself left and crossed the Oxus. Troops from all sides gathered at Āmūya. From Bukhara they went to a city of Khwārazm (*sic*) and prepared (for war) till the following Monday. From there they went towards Balkh.<sup>304</sup> 'Amr (ibn) Laith undertook the fortification of the town and encamped with his army before the city (proper). He made a moat all around (the city). It was several days before the army entered (the city) and he strengthened the fortifications. He showed the inhabitants what he had done for their city and made them happy.<sup>305</sup>

Amīr Isma'īl sent 'Alī ibn Aḥmad to Fāryāb<sup>306</sup> and ordered him to kill the deputies of 'Amr (ibn) Laith, and to bring back much booty. He sent people everywhere to kill the adherents of 'Amr (ibn) Laith. They brought back wealth. Amīr Isma'īl arrived in 'Alīābād of Balkh and remained there three days. He directed his army from there. He indicated that he wanted to stay at a place of prayer, and he ordered the road (which led to it) widened. When 'Amr (ibn) Laith saw that, he strengthened the gates on that side and stationed troops in that section. He also prepared catapults and ballistae on that side. He laid an ambush on the road to the place of prayer and placed troops in it. When it was morning, the late amīr (Isma'īl) changed his route and went to the city gate by another route, and descended at the bridge of 'Aṭā. 'Amr (ibn) Laith was surprised at this act and had to transfer the catapults to the other side.

Amīr Isma'īl remained there three days. He ordered water cut off from the city; the walls were all cast down, trees were uprooted, and the roads prepared. On Tuesday morning the amīr Isma'īl mounted, and with a few soldiers went to the city gate. 'Amr (ibn) Laith\* came out and entered in battle. The battle was fierce and his ('Amr's) army was defeated.<sup>307</sup> The troops (of Isma'īl) followed them, killed some and captured others till they arrived eight parasangs from Balkh. They saw

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\* B and D add: said, "today I shall fight," and came out —.



'Amr (ibn) Laith with two bodyguards. One fled and the other fell upon 'Amr. Then 'Amr (ibn) Laith was taken prisoner and everyone said he had captured 'Amr (ibn) Laith, but he said that his bodyguard had seized him.<sup>308</sup> 'Amr (ibn) Laith had given that servant fifteen pearls, each valued at 70,000 *dirhams*. They were taken from the servant.

The capture of 'Amr (ibn) Laith occurred on Wednesday the tenth day of the month of Jumādā the first of the year 288 (2 may 901). 'Amr (ibn) Laith was brought before the amīr Isma'īl. 'Amr (ibn) Laith wanted to dismount but the amīr (Isma'īl) restrained him and said, "Today I shall do something with you which will amaze the people." He ordered 'Amr (ibn) Laith brought to a tent and he sent his (Isma'īl's) brother\* to guard him. Four days later he saw the amīr (Isma'īl who) asked him how he fell into captivity. The (former) replied, "I was galloping and my horse became tired. So I dismounted and slept. Then I saw two youths standing by my head. One of them took his whip and touched me on the nose. I said, 'What do you want from such an old man?' I exorcised† them not to kill me. They dismounted and kissed my foot. They protected me and one of them put me on his horse. People gathered and asked me what I had. I told them I had several pearls, each valued at 70,000 *dirhams*.‡ I also gave them my ring. They took my shoes from my feet and also they took several jewels of great value. Then troops captured me. Muḥammad Shāh\*\* held back the people from me. Then I saw the amīr Isma'īl from afar. I wanted to dismount but he entreated me with his heart and soul not to dismount. My heart was calmed. He led me to a curtained tent and Abū Yūsuf sat with me and guarded me. When I wanted water they gave me sherbet. Really they showed me all sorts of respect and honor. Then the amīr Isma'īl came to me, welcomed me, and promised not to kill me. He ordered me carried in a litter and brought to the city (of Samarqand) in honor. I was brought into Sam-

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\* D adds: Abū Yūsuf.

† B: I gave them something so they would not kill me.

‡ D: 80,000.

\*\* D: for "Shah" has "ibn Snī."



'Amr (ibn) Laith with two bodyguards. One fled and the other fell upon 'Amr. Then 'Amr (ibn) Laith was taken prisoner and everyone said he had captured 'Amr (ibn) Laith, but he said that his bodyguard had seized him.<sup>308</sup> 'Amr (ibn) Laith had given that servant fifteen pearls, each valued at 70,000 *dirhams*. They were taken from the servant.

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\* D adds: Abū Yūsuf.

† B: I gave them something so they would not kill me.

‡ D: 80,000.

\*\* D: for "Shah" has "ibn Snī."



arqand\* at night so none of the inhabitants knew of this. Amīr Isma'īl bought my ring from the person who had it. He paid a price of 3,000† *dirhams* and sent it to me. The stone of the ring was a red ruby."

'Amr (ibn) Laith continued, "On the day of the battle I had 40,000 *dirhams* which were lost in the fight.‡ I was on a horse which could run fifty parasangs. I had tried it many times. On that day the same horse went so slowly that I wanted to dismount. The horse's legs tripped in a ditch and I fell from the horse and despaired for myself. When those two (men)\*\* came towards me I told that man who was with me to mount my horse and flee. He mounted the horse, and I watched him go like a cloud. Then I knew that it was my bad fortune and not the fault of the horse."

'Amr (ibn) Laith told the amīr Isma'īl, "I have hidden ten donkey loads of gold in Balkh. Please order them brought, for you now are more deserving of them." Amīr Isma'īl sent a person and brought all of it. He then sent it to 'Amr (ibn) Laith. Amīr Isma'īl, no matter how often requested, accepted nothing.<sup>309</sup>

A letter from the Commander of the Faithful arrived in Samarqand\* requesting that 'Amr (ibn) Laith (be sent). The heading of the letter was written as follows: "From 'Abdallāh ibn al-Imām abu'l-'Abbās al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh, Commander of the Faithful, to Abū Ibrāhīm Isma'īl ibn Aḥmad, client of the Commander of the Faithful." When the letter reached the amīr Isma'īl he was grieved for the sake of 'Amr (ibn) Laith, but he was unable to ignore the order of the caliph. He ordered 'Amr (ibn) Laith placed in a litter and brought to Bukhara. Amīr Isma'īl could not even turn his face towards him, because of shame. He sent a man to ask if he ('Amr) had any wishes. 'Amr (ibn) Laith said, "Take care of my children and give something to those persons who carry me so they will think

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\* B: Balkh.

† B, D: 30,000; C: three.

‡ D: which the soldiers carried away.

\*\* Editor of A adds: servants; D: horsemen.

\* B: Balkh.



well of me." Amīr Isma'īl did that, and seated him in a litter and sent him to Baghdad.<sup>810</sup> When he arrived in Baghdad the caliph entrusted him to Šāfi his servant,\* and put him in prison.<sup>811</sup> He was imprisoned by Šāfi till the end of the reign of Mu'taḍid. He had been in prison two years when he was killed in the year 280/893-4, (*sic* 289/902).†

When the amīr Isma'īl sent 'Amr (ibn) Laith to the caliph, the latter sent back the investiture for Khurāsān from the pass of Ḥulwān, including the provinces of Khurāsān, Transoxiana, Turkistan,‡ Sind, Hind, and Gurgān.<sup>812</sup> All became his, and the amīr appointed an amīr over every city. He made appear the results of justice and good conditions. He chastised whoever showed tyranny to his subjects. There was no one of the house of Sāmān more capable of governing than he, for he was like an ascetic and allowed no favoritism in the affairs of state. He always showed obedience to the caliph. In his lifetime he was not refractory one hour to the caliph, and he held his commands in highest esteem.<sup>813</sup>

Amīr Isma'īl became sick; it was prolonged and the moisture aggravated his trouble. The doctors said that the atmosphere of Jūy-i Mūliyān was wet,\* so he was carried to the village of Zarmān, which was his private property. They said that this air would be better for him. The amīr liked that village and always went there for hunting. A garden had been made for him. He was sick there for some time till he died.† It was in a certain garden under a large tree. It was on the fifteenth day of the month of Šafar of the year 295 (26 November 907).<sup>814</sup> He had been the amīr of Khurāsān twenty years, and the length of his rule was thirty years.‡ May God show mercy on him,

\* Or eunuch—*khādim*.

† D adds: Jumādā the first.

‡ D adds: Fārs and Ṭabaristān.

\* D: His condition became worse in Jūy-i Mūliyān because of the moisture. The doctors said that the atmosphere of Jūy-i Mūliyān was wet.

† B adds: They brought his body to Bukhara and buried it. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage for the people of the city.

‡ D: He was amīr of Bukhara twenty years, the amīr of Transoxiana seven, and the amīr of Khurāsān seven, a total of thirty-seven (*sic*).



for in his time Bukhara became the seat of government. After him all of the amīrs of the house of Sāmān held court in Bukhara. None of the amīrs of Khurāsān before him had lived in Bukhara. He considered his residence in Bukhara as fortunate, and he did not find satisfaction in any district except Bukhara. Wherever he was, he said my city, i.e., Bukhara, (has) such and such. After his death his son took his place, and he (Isma'īl) was surnamed al-amīr al-māqī.

## XXXII

### *The reign of the martyred amīr Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl Sāmānī*

He became the amīr of Khurāsān, and is known as the martyred amīr. He followed his father in disposition and was just. He showed equity to all of his subjects, and\* they lived in peace and tranquility. He went from there (Bukhara) to Khurāsān and inspected his kingdom. Then he conquered Sīstān, for already in the time of the late amīr it had been allotted to him.<sup>315</sup> Then he returned to Bukhara. He loved to hunt, so he went hunting on the bank of the Oxus. He had pitched his tent and had returned from hunting, when a messenger came and brought a letter from Abu'l-'Abbās the amīr of Ṭabaristān.†<sup>316</sup> He read the letter. In it was written that Ḥusain ibn 'Alā had revolted and seized most of the provinces of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān.<sup>317</sup> He (Abu'l-'Abbās) had been obliged to flee. The amīr became despondent and very disturbed. He prayed and said, "Great God, if this kingdom is to fall away from me, give me death." (Then) he entered the tent.

He had a rule, viz.—he had a lion which was fastened by a chain at the door of the house where he slept, so if anyone sought to enter the house the lion would destroy him. That night, when he was sad, all of his domestics grieved and forgot to bring the lion. He fell asleep and a group of the amīr's slaves entered (the tent) and cut off his head.‡<sup>318</sup> This happened on

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\* B adds: during his reign.

† B adds: whom his father (Isma'īl) had made governor there.

‡ B adds: Thus his prayer was answered.



Thursday the eleventh of Jumādā the second in the year 301 (12 January 914).<sup>319</sup> He was brought to Bukhara and laid in the cemetery of Naukanda. He was designated the martyred amīr. It was suspected that Abu'l-Ḥasan was an accomplice, so he was brought to Bukhara and hanged.<sup>320</sup> Some of the slaves who had killed (the amīr) were caught and executed, (while) others fled to Turkistān. His rule lasted six years four months and five days.<sup>321</sup>

## XXXIII

*The rule of the amīr Sa'īd abu'l-Ḥasan Naṣr ibn  
Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl al-Sāmānī*

When they finished with the burial of the martyred amīr, his son Naṣr received the appellation Sa'īd (the fortunate).<sup>322</sup> He was eight years old.\* Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jaihānī<sup>323</sup> took the post of prime minister, while Ḥamavaih ibn 'Alī became commander-in-chief of the army.<sup>324</sup> He (Sa'īd) was called "the founder† of Khurāsān." At first the power of the amīr Sa'īd was weak and everywhere trouble arose. An uncle of his father, Ishāq ibn Aḥmad,<sup>325</sup> sought the allegiance of Samarqand, and the people of Samarqand swore allegiance to him. His son Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Ishāq revolted in Nīshāpūr and seized several cities of Khurāsān.<sup>326</sup> The power of Ishāq ibn Aḥmad in Samarqand became strong. Amīr Sa'īd sent his commander Ḥamavaih ibn 'Alī to fight Ishāq. (The latter) was defeated and (the victor's) army entered Samarqand. Ishāq prepared himself a second time and the people of Samarqand came out and joined him. They fought against Ḥamavaih, but the people of Samarqand were (again) defeated. Ishāq ibn Aḥmad came out a third time and was captured. His son, Maṣṣūr ibn Ishāq, died in Nīshāpūr, and all of Khurāsān and Transoxiana was cleared for the amīr Sa'īd. The *khutba* was said in his name in Fārs, Kirmān, Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, and 'Irāq.

Story: In his thirteenth year the amīr Sa'īd went from Bukhara to Nīshāpūr. He left as his deputy in Bukhara one of his

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\* B adds: when he became amīr in place of his father.

† *sāhib-i vujūd*.



relatives called Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Asad al-Sāmānī.<sup>827</sup> At this time a fire started in the quarter of Gardūn Kashān.<sup>828</sup> It was so great that the people of Samarqand saw the fire. The people of Bukhara said that the fire came from heaven. The whole quarter burned, and it was impossible to extinguish it.

On the whole his (the amīr's) other brothers revolted and caused much trouble. Finally Abū Zakariyā,<sup>829</sup> who was the soul of the trouble, fled with a small number of people, without garments and food, and went to Khurāsān. The other brothers asked forgiveness. Amīr Sa'īd forgave them but kept them near him, so the trouble was quieted.

Story: In the time of the amīr Sa'īd, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, in the month of Rajab of the year 325 (May 937), a fire began in Bukhara.<sup>830</sup> All of the bazars were burned. The fire began in a porridge shop<sup>831</sup> at the Samarqand gate. (The man in the shop) picked up the ashes from under the kettle of porridge and carried them to the roof where he had a trough he wanted to fill. An ember was among the ashes, but he didn't know it. The wind carried it to a straw hut and it caught fire. It spread to all of the bazar. The entire quarter of the Samarqand gate burned. The fire was carried in the air like a cloud. The Bakār quarter, the shops of the bazar, the religious school of Farjāk, the shops of the shoemakers, the bazar of the money changers, and the cloth dealers, and all on the other side of Bukhara, burned to the edge of the river.<sup>832</sup> The fire jumped over (the river) and caught the mosque of Mākh, which was completely burned. The fire burned two days and nights. The people of Bukhara were helpless with it, and had much trouble until they extinguished it on the third day. For one month wood burned under the ashes. More than 100,000 *dirhams* of the people of Bukhara were lost. They were never able to restore the buildings of Bukhara as they had been previously. Amīr Sa'īd ruled for thirty-one years. (*Sic*—He ruled twenty-nine years and several months.) He was a just ruler, even more than his father, and he had many merits. If I mentioned all of them it would be too long. When he died his son, Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, came to the throne.



## XXXIV

*The rule of the amir Ḥamīd abū Muḥammad Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismaʿīl al-Sāmānī*

Amir Ḥamīd\* came to the throne in the first of Shaʿbān of the year 331 (April 943).<sup>833</sup> Abū Dharr became his prime minister. He had been a judge of Bukhara.<sup>834</sup> In his time there was no one who knew jurisprudence better than he. The *Mukhtaṣar-i kāfī* was his work. When the amir Saʿīd died everyone revolted in every place. Amir Ḥamīd went from Bukhara to Nishāpūr. Abū ʿAlī Iṣfahānī was the amir of Nishāpūr.<sup>835</sup> (Ḥamīd) ordered him seized, (after which) he pacified the district and scattered the opposition. Then he gave Nishāpūr to Ibrāhīm (ibn) Sīmjūr.<sup>836</sup> Abū ʿAlī Iṣfahānī said to himself, "I ruled well over it,† and he gave the province to another." Abū ʿAlī Iṣfahānī said to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismaʿīl al-Sāmānī, "Go to Bukhara and seize power.<sup>837</sup> If I am with you, the amir (Ḥamīd) will be unable to resist you." Abū Ishāq prepared an army and proclaimed his opposition.

Amir Ḥamīd returned from Nishāpūr. Abū Ishāq advanced towards him and a battle occurred between them. Amir Ḥamīd was defeated and fled to Bukhara. Abū Ishāq, his uncle, followed him there. On Jumādā the second of the year 335 (January 947) all of the people of Bukhara swore allegiance to him, and from all of the *minbars* of Bukhara the *khutba* was read in the name of Abū Ishāq. After a time he discovered that his army had bad designs on him. They had become reconciled with the amir Ḥamīd and intended to kill him. He left Bukhara and went to Chagāniyān. Amir Ḥamīd gave the commandership of the army to Maṣṣūr Qarātekīn, and sent him to Merv.<sup>838</sup> He (Maṣṣūr) seized ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Qazvīnī,\* bound him, and sent him to Bukhara, and put an end to that trouble.<sup>839</sup> Amir Ḥamīd, during his reign, fought many battles with everyone who pretended to his throne. By the year 341/952 the

\* B adds: after the death of Naṣr, his father.

† B adds: and I gave Nishāpūr to him without a struggle.

\* B adds: who was the governor there.



provinces had been submitted to the amīr Ḥamīd. Amīr Ḥamīd died in the month of Rabī' the second of the year 343 (August 954). His rule had lasted twelve years.<sup>340</sup>

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr says that Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Narshakhī wrote his book in his (this amīr's) name in the beginning of his reign, in the year 332/943-4. He did not mention completely in his book what had happened in the reign of the amīr Ḥamīd. Likewise, that which came after the amīr Ḥamīd, of the affairs of the Sāmānī amīrs, has been added by me, with the help of God the Exalted.

## XXXV

*The reign of (the amīr Rashīd Abū'l-Fawāris) 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl al-Sāmānī*

When the amīr Ḥamīd died allegiance was sworn to the amīr Rashīd, who was ten years old when he ascended the throne. When news of the death of the amīr Ḥamīd arrived in the provinces, everyone coveted a district. The amīr sent Ash'ath ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad\* to Khurāsān.<sup>341</sup> He had to fight many times in Herat and Iṣfahān. He subdued the provinces, and was engaged in that, and fighting battles, when the amīr Rashīd fell from his horse† and died the same night. That night was Wednesday; eight days of the month of Shawwāl had passed of the year 350 (20 November 961).<sup>342</sup> He had ruled seven years. When he was buried the army grew restless and revolted. Everyone‡ coveted the kingdom and troubles appeared.

## XXXVI

*On the reign of Malik Muẓaffar abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl al-Sāmānī*

Amīr Sadīd ascended the throne and the army swore allegiance to him. Unanimity came after much discussion. They

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\* B omits one Muḥammad.

† D adds: and the horse came on his head.

‡ D adds: of his family.



swore allegiance to him on Friday the nineteenth of the month of Shauwāl of the year 350 (1 December 961). The commander of the army, Alptekīn, was in Nishāpūr. When news of the death of the amīr Rashīd reached him he resolved to\* seize the amīr Sadīd.<sup>343</sup> The latter sent an army, (so when the army of Alptekīn) reached the Oxus and wanted to cross, it could not because a large army had arrived (on the opposite bank).<sup>344</sup> He (Alptekīn) wanted to return to his own province of Nishāpūr.<sup>345</sup> Amīr Sadīd† wrote a letter to Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq in Nishāpūr, not to allow (Alptekīn) to enter the city.<sup>346</sup> Alptekīn received this information and knew he could not go to Nishāpūr so he crossed the Oxus by Āmūī and went to Balkh. He seized it and raised a rebellion. Amīr Sadīd sent Ash’ath ibn Muḥammad (to fight Alptekīn). He fought much and finally drove Alptekīn out of Balkh, and the latter went to Ghazna.<sup>347</sup> Ash’ath ibn Muḥammad followed him to Ghazna and also fought there. Again Alptekīn suffered defeat and fled back to Balkh. Again the amīr Sadīd gave him amnesty. After this revolt, and much fighting, he returned to (the amīr’s) service.

At this time the amīr Sadīd sent many armies to the provinces and cleared the kingdom (of rebels). Rivals no longer existed in the provinces. He conquered the territory of the Dailamites<sup>348</sup> and made peace with them on the condition that every year they send him 150,000 Nishāpūrī *dirhams*.<sup>349</sup> Amīr Sadīd died on Sunday the sixteenth of the month of Muḥarram of the year 365 (25 September, 975).<sup>350</sup> His reign lasted fifteen years and five months. [God knows best.]

### XXXVII

*An account of the rule of the amīr Rashīd abu’l-Qāsim Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma‘īl al-Sāmānī*<sup>351</sup>

Amīr Sadīd died on Sunday, and on Monday his son ascended the throne and they swore allegiance to him. Abū ‘Abdallāh

\* B: to go to Bukhara and seize. A: to *ḥaḍrat* "presence" of the amīr.

† B adds: son of amīr Rashīd, who was amīr of Bukhara.

\* D: *dīnārs*.



Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jaihānī was his prime minister, but he asked to be excused because of his age. Several days passed,\* then the amīr made Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Azīz his prime minister.<sup>852</sup> The affairs of the kingdom began to flourish. Abu'l-'Abbās Tāsh<sup>853</sup> was commander of the army, (but) he was removed and Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad† ibn Ibrāhīm became the commander.<sup>854</sup> Abu'l-'Abbās Tāsh revolted and seized Nīshāpūr. Abu'l-Ḥasan, the commander, his son Abū 'Alī, and Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Fā'iq the chamberlain, went to Nīshāpūr and defeated him in the year 377/987-8.<sup>855</sup> Abu'l-'Abbās fled from Nīshāpūr to Gurgān where 'Alī ibn Ḥasan was his friend, and he gave him refuge.

When the commander, Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, died at the end of the month of Dhū'l Qa'da of the year 378 (March 989) his son became commander.<sup>856</sup> After this the amīr Rashīd disapproved of him and dismissed him. Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Fā'iq, the chamberlain, became commander, and went to Herat and fought him (Abū 'Alī). Fā'iq the chamberlain fled from him (Abū 'Alī) and went to Merv in Dhū'l Ḥijja of the year 378 (April 989). After him Abu'l-Ḥārith Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ was governor (of Khurāsān) for a year and nine months.<sup>857</sup> Bektūzi-yān\*<sup>858</sup> seized him in Sarakhs<sup>859</sup> and the rule of the house of Sāmān went from there. [God knows best.]†

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\* D: There were two or three prime ministers.

† D: Maḥmūd.

\* D: Ktūzyān.

† D concludes in Arabic: "All of the copying (has been done) correctly in the month of Jumādā the second of the year 800 of the *hijra* (1397-8.) This MS was copied in 1219/1804."



## NOTES



## NOTES

1. *D* adds three pages of stories about the holy men and prophets who visited Bukhara, as well as several anecdotes about 'Alī and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in connection with Khurāsān.

2. There were many translations from Arabic into Persian in Transoxiana made under the rule of the Sāmānids. The translation of Ṭabarī's history is perhaps the best known. For others cf. E. Bertels, *Persidskaya Poeziya v Bukhare x Vek*, Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya, 10 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935), 57 pp., and V. Zhukovskii, "K istorii persidskoi literatury pri Samanidakh," *ZVOIRAO*, 12 (1899), 04-07.

3. All MSS. have *Jumādā 'l-awwal*, the masculine.

4. O. Pritsak kindly supplied the following note (10 April '53): "Gemeint ist der sechste Oberhaupt der Ḥanafiten in Buchara aus dem Hause Burhān (Al Burhān) 'Abd al-'Azīz II. b. Muḥammad b. 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (regierte ab ca. 570/1174 gest. 593/1196-7). Über die Dynastie Āl Burhān, die in Buchara in den Jahren 1102-1238 sowohl die geistliche als auch die politische Macht in ihren Händen hatte s. O. Pritsak, "Āl-i Burhān," *Der Islam*, 30/1 (Berlin, 1952), 81-96 (mit einer genealogischen Tafel der Dynastie)."

5. Sībavaih ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī, the grammarian (*sic*) is not to be confused with the well-known grammarian Abū Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān, who was from Basra. Cf. the *Ta'rikh Baghdād* of Abī Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Baghdādī (Cairo, 1931), 12, 195. There is scant information about the judges of Bukhara in other works.

6. Or Mukhlad ibn 'Umar. No information on him, or the following judges, has been found.

7. Sadūsī: There are many entries under Sadūsī in the *Kitāb al-ansāb* of al-Sam'ānī, 293b-294a, but none which applies to Abū Daim.

8. 'Isā ibn Mūsā al-Taimī (or Tamīmī) Ghunjār: The most complete information about him is found in al-Sam'ānī, 411 b. "There were two persons with this name who became illustrious. One was Abū Muḥammad 'Isa ibn Mūsā al-Yatamī, orphan of the Quraish, their client, nicknamed Ghunjār. He was so called because of the ruddiness of his cheeks. He was virtuous, learned, just, and pious among the people of Bukhara. He went to 'Irāq and the Hijāz and Egypt and followed the learned men. . . He died in 184/800. They say his grave is in Sarakhs and he was called al-Ghunjār because of the redness of his cheeks."

"The second is Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn abī Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Sulaimān ibn Kāmil al-Bukhārī the clerk, known as Ghunjār, author of the history of Bukhara . . . He was called Ghunjār because of his diligence. 'Isā ibn Mūsā related: 'Then in his old age



he studied *hadiths* and wrote them down, and was nicknamed for that.' He died in Bukhara in 412/1021." For information about this historian, cf. F. Wüstenfeld, "Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber," *AGAW*, 28 (1881) 33; É. Amar, "Prolégomènes à l'étude des historiens arabes" *JA*, 10 série, 19 (1912), 252; Yāqūt, 1, 521; *Samariya* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 42 (Tehran, 32), and Sam'ānī, foll. 68a, and Rosenthal, 386, 428. Yāqūt, 4, 920, says 'Isa ibn Mūsā Ghunjār came from the village of Vardāna near Bukhara.

9. Sa'īd ibn Khalaf al-Balkhī is probably the same as Sa'd ibn Khalaf al-Bukhārī (ch. XV). C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, 1, 54, mentions him.

10. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Narshakhī . . . one of the "pious men": He is not mentioned by Sam'ānī, nor by any other Muslim author which I have read. The designation *'ibād al-ṣālahīn* "pious men" probably refers to the Sufis. It is found elsewhere, in Sam'ānī, foll. 68 a, and in the *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, 8, 253, where Abū Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-Bukhārī is called one of the "pious."

11. Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Barkadī: Sam'ānī, 75 b, mentions a judge with the name Barkadī, one Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Salām who died in 289/902.

12. Abū Dharr Muḥ. ibn Yūsuf al-Bukhārī: He is mentioned as Abū Dharr Muḥ. ibn Muḥ. ibn Yūsuf, the judge, in the *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, 2, 26. Although he was a follower of the Imām Shāfi'ī nothing is said about Abū Dharr in the *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iya al-kubrā* of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. See note 334.

13. Abū Faḍl al-Marvazī al-Sulamī (not Sallamī): He is the well-known judge who became the prime minister of the amīr Ḥamīd Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (943-54). Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 246. He was also known as al-Balkhī, the martyr. He was respected far and wide for his learning and piety; cf. *Al-jawābir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīya* 2, 112-3; (Brockelmann, II, 80; SII, 89). He was killed in Merv in 334/945 by Turks who had him bound to two trees which tore him apart when released. He was buried in Merv. Sam'ānī, foll. 341 b, mentions him under the section *shahid*.

On the author of the book *al-Kāfi*, a work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence, cf. *Fihrist al-kutub al-'arabīyat al-maujūdat b'il-kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiya* (Cairo, 1306/1889), 3, 101; (new series 1924, 1, 455). The former (old series) says the author may have died in 344/955 or 6.

14. Part of this section is translated by S. Tolstov, "Tiranniya Abruya," *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 3(1938), 3-53, reprinted with minor changes in Tolstov's, *Drevnii Khorezm* (Moscow, 1948), 248-256. The story of the founding of the oasis of Bukhara has been the subject of extensive study on the part of several scholars; cf. J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), 144-154, and S. P. Tolstov, "Tiranniya Abruya," *op. cit.* They entirely supersede the work of W. Tomaschek, "Centralasiatische Studien," *SWAW*, 87 (1877), 170 ff., and E. Sachau, "Conjectur zu Vendidad 1, 34," *ZDMG*, 28 (1874), 448-52.

The story of the formation of the area of Bukhara, and the river of



Sughd (Zarafshān) which was formerly a swamp, may be confirmed by Ptolemy's geography, Book 6, ch. 12, 3, where he speaks of an Oxian lake or swamp Ὠξειανὴ λίμνη formed by a river flowing from the Sogdian mountains. I have not found this account in any of the Muslim geographers. For other interpretations of the formation of the lake, however, cf. A. Herrmann, "Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebiets," *AGAW*, 15 (1914), 40-1.

15. Māsaf river (the Zarafshān): In Ya'qūbī (BGA 7), 293, 16, under Samarqand, it is called Nāsaf, a mighty river which flows from the land of the Turks. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 150, emends this to read *Māsp* and gives a full discussion of the name. One of the three main tribes of the ancient Persians was the Μάσπιοι acc. to Marquart, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran," *Philologus*, 55 (1896), 232, note 61. He asks whether there is a connection with the name of the river. The tribal name in Luristan, *Maspi*, is connected with the name of the river by E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World* (Princeton, 1947), 729. Iṣṭakhrī, 319, 4, says the river of Sughd forms a lake called Majī (Mačā, with variants).

16. Bitik and Farab: Two villages, which exist at the present, on the Oxus River opposite modern Charjui. Lykoshin, 12, translates the final phrase: "so that the other water(s) (i.e.—the swamp) completely dried up." The words *bāz dāsh*t, I have translated "diverted"; lit. "held back." This is where it flowed into the Oxus.

17. Some people came from Turkistān: According to K. Inostrantsev, "O do-musulmanskoī kulture Khivinskago oazisa" *ZMNP* (February, 1911), 317, Narshakhī's account of the settlement of Bukhara has some echoes in the *Kitāb al-qand fī ta'rikh Samarqand*. On this work cf. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Section 2, fasc. 2 (London, 1936), 371. It does not appear in the *Ta'rikh Samarqand*. There is a tradition that Khwārazm was settled by people coming from the East. Chinese sources mention the migration of a group of Hsiung-nu into Sogdiana in the first century B.C., and we know the political hegemony of the Hsiung-nu at times extended to the same region. Cf. J. J. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*, part 2 (Berlin, 1926), 103-5. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 308, suggests that Abrūī and the people from Turkistān were Hephthalites.

18. Abrūī (D: Abarvā; B, E: Abravī or Abravay): E. Sachau "Conjectur zu Vendidad 1, 34," *ZDMG*, 28 (1874), 450, considered this story a legend and sought to identify Abrūī as a personification of the Zarafshān river, in analogy with Afrigh, a Khwārazmian king (mentioned by al-Bīrūnī, *Athār al-bāqīya*, 35, translation, 41) who was identified with the Oxus river. K. Inostrantsev, *op. cit.*, 303, accepted this identification.

S. P. Tolstov, in "Tiranniya Abruya," *op. cit.*, 7, advanced arguments that this story was historical. In short Tolstov identifies "Abo Kagan" 阿波 *ā puā* with Abrūī. The former was really the title of Ta-lo-pien 大邏便 *t'āi lâ b'ian*, the son of the Turkish khāqān Mohan, who was the son of Tūmen, founder of Turkish power in Mongolia in the 6th



century of our era. Abo had to flee to the west and was later captured by the khāqān of the Eastern Turks. Cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, (St. Petersburg, 1903), 48-9. Vambery in his *History of Bokhara*, 2, gives the form *Aberzi*. J. Markwart, "Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer," *Orientalia Christiana*, 27 (1932), 204, accepts this form as correct, equating it with *Varz*, the Hephthalite tribe *Var'*/*Avar* with suffix, as in *Sagzi*, a native of Sistan. Comp. MP, and Sogdian ethnica in *čyk* < OP *č* + *iya* + *k*, (as Rhages: \*Ragačik > \*Račik > Razi) *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I (2), 177. In his *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), 148, Markwart identifies Abrūi with the last king of the Hephthalites.

19. On Nūr (B: Nūr Ātā) see note 54; on Kharqān Rūd see note 143; on Vardāna (E: Farvāna), note 41. The other villages are not mentioned in the standard Arabic geographical works. Tarāvcha (B: Tarāhčah), the diminutive of Tarāb, is today a small village southwest of Bukhara.

20. Qal'a-i Dabūsi: According to the *Ta'rikh Samarqand*, foll. 73a, Qutaiba ibn Muslim conquered it in 93/711. This was a large settlement which was inhabited until recent times. The citadel was a rough square of 115 meters on each side. Cf. A. Yu Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya Ekspeditsiya 1934 g," in *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Leningrad, 1940), 151-5. A map of the excavations is on p. 153. It is near present-day Ziya al-Dīn. Cf. Yāqūt and other geographers.

21. *dihqāns*: In ancient Iran they were the headmen of villages, a class just below the nobility, but in Transoxiana, which did not have the centralized government of Sasanian Iran, the *dihqāns* played a more important role. Cf. C. Huart, *Ancient Iran and Iranian Civilization* (London, 1927), 143, and A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944), 112. The word comes into prominence in Sasanian times: *dēhik* "head of a village"; MP *dēh*. Cf., however, C. Salemann in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I (1), 280. On this class cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 440.

22. Tarāz: Arabic form of Talas, the present Dzhambul (former Aulie-ata) in the Kazakh SSR. It is first mentioned as Talas by Menander Protector in the 6th century; cf. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 4, 228.

23. Hamūkat: To be read Jamūkat, a city near Tarāz; cf. A. N. Bernshtam, *Arkheologicheskii Ocherk Severnoi Kirgizii*, (Frunze, 1941), 59, 67; also K. Inostrantsev, "K istorii do-musul'manskoi kultury Srednei Azii," *ZVOIRAO*, 24 (1916), 139-40. *Tabari*, 2, 1613, speaking of battles of the Muslims against the Turks of Tukharistān in 119/737, says, "People of the house of Jamūkiyīn, and they are of the Turkish nobility." The *Tārikh-i Nishāpūr*, foll. 28 b, line 10, mentions a scholar famous for his energy in search of *hadiths*, one Yūsuf ibn Mūsā ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khālid ibn Jamūk abū Ya'qūb al-Marvarūdhī who died in 296/908. Maqdisī, 275, says Jamūkat is large, with walls and a mosque, and with a wall around the suburbs.

On the word *jamūk* cf. R. N. Frye, "Jamūk, Sogdian 'pearl?'" *JAOS*,



71 (1951), 142-5. A letter from Prof. R. Delbrueck, Bonn, 2 Feb. 1953, says, "Perle als Titel im eigentlichen Sinne kenne ich nicht, weder in Indien, noch sonst wo. Aber die Perle als symbolische Gestalt ist sehr verbreitet, so für Christus (Perlenlied der Thomasakten), für die menschliche Kollektiv Seele (Mani) oder die Einzelseele (Mandaeer)."

The *Mujmal al-tawārikh wa'l qīṣaṣ*, 421, says that the ruler of Jamūkat is called Blāwkth, (a variant in Bartold, *Turkestan*, teksty, 20, is Ylāwkth). See also V. Bartold, "Otchet o poezdke . . ." in *ZAN* (1897), 14 and note.

24. Kat: Sogdian *kanθ/kaθ*; cf. J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931), 26. Nasafī, 48, says that *knt* in the language of Sughd means city, so also Kāshgharī.

25. There are many indications of migrations of Sogdians from their homeland in pre-Islamic times. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī says, "Sogdak are a people who (came and) settled in Balāsāghūn (northeast of Tarāz). They are from Sughd which is between Bukhara and Samarqand." Cf. *Kitāb dīwān lughāt al-turk*, 1 (Istanbul, 1917), 391. The story of a migration of Sogdians to Chinese Turkestan is told by a Chinese document from Tun-huang; cf. L. Giles, "A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century," *BSOS*, 6 (1936), 827. We know that the Sogdians were active traders from the "Ancient Letters"; cf. W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), 602. According to A. N. Bernshtam, "Sogdiiskaya Kolonizatsiya Semirechya," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 6 (Moscow, 1940), 34-43, there were two periods of Sogdian colonization in Semirechya, the first from the 3d to 6th centuries A.D., primarily for trading, and the second in the sixth century. Cf. also Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 256-276, and E. G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia," *TP*, 41 (1953), 317-356.

The account of the settling of Khwārazm has interesting parallels with the story in Narshakhī; cf. K. Inostrantsev, "O do-musulmanskoj kulture Khivinskogo oazisa," *ZMNP* (Feb., 1911), 302-3. Inostrantsev gives several Arabic sources for his story.

When the Muslims came there were further migrations; cf. V. Bartold, "O khristianstve v Turkestane v do-mongolskij period," *ZVOIRAO*, 8 (1893), 9, note 5.

26. Qarā Jūrīn Turk: Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 147, identifies him with Σιλξιβουλος, Istāmi khāqān or Shih-tien-mi 室點蜜 *šīēt tiem mīēt*, the founder of the West-Turkish Khāqānate. Tolstov "Tiranniya Abruya," 7, proposes Ch'u-lo 處羅 *íṣiwo lá*, khāqān of the West Turks 600-618, or a khāqān of the East Turks of the same name who ruled from 619-20, as identical with Qarā Jūrīn. One might expect the latter word to be read *čur*, as the title in Orkhon Turkish, but I have no explanation for the termination *-in*.

27. Biyāghū (D: Bighū): Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 147, emends this to Yabāghū, identified as Σιλξιβουλος = \*Sir yabghu = Sinjibū = Istāmi. Cf. also his *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, 38. There seem to be, however, two different words: 1) *Yabāghū*, the name of a Turkish tribe; cf. Gardizī in Bartold, "Ochet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu 1893-4," *ZAN* (1897), 81, and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī



in C. Brockelmann, "Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī über die Sprachen der Türken," *Kōrōsi Csoma Archivum*, 1 (1921), 37. 2) *Yabghū*, a title; cf. N. N. Poppe, "Altaisch und Urtürkisch," *UJ*, 6 (1926), 102, and P. Pelliot, "Tāngrim > tārim," *TP*, 37 (1944), 167, note.

For the various individuals who bore the title of *yabghū* cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), 107, under Jabghūyah-Khāqān. The title is connected with the West-Turkish kingdom, although there were possible precedents such as the *yavuga* (*Kushana yavugasa*) of the Kushan coins; cf. E. Drouin in *Revue Numismatique* (1888), 42-6. This implies a Kushan origin according to Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 12, 43, note 8. Cf. H. W. Bailey, "To the Zamasp Namak I," *BSOS*, 6 (1930), 64. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī says the title is a nickname for the next (in importance) after the khāqān; *Kitāb dīwān lughāt al-turk*, 3, 24. It is found in the Orkhon inscriptions. The title was used in Ṭukharistān till the 13th century, when it fell out of use. (Cf. Barthold, art. "Ṭokharistān" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*).

On a possible Iranian origin see R. von Stackelberg, "Beiträge zur persischen Lexikographie," *WZKM*, 17 (1903), 58-9. The latest discussion is found in Omeljan Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 24 (1952), 89 and note 236.

28. Shīr-i Kishvar: This is probably the Persian version of the Turkish *Il Arslān* "lion of the countries or tribes." (Proposed by C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, 1, 15.) Markwart, *Weibrot und Arang*, 148, identifies Shīr-i Kishvar as an elder brother of Tardu khāqān 達頭 *d'ât d'zu* who was the son of Silzibulos whom the Byzantine envoy Valentinus met in 576 in Turkestan. On the name Silzibulos (the forms with a *delta* are incorrect) cf. H. H. Schaeder, "Iranica," *AGAW*, (1934), 28, note 2. O. Pritsak brought to my attention Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 253, who identifies Shīr-i Kishvar with the *yel* (~ *yer*) <Arslan> Tegin ibn Shāb(or) of Dīnawarī.

29. The destitute became servants of the former: This is the subject of a long discussion on slavery in Central Asia by Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 36-7.

30. Bukhār Khudāt: Ruler of Bukhara in pre-Islamic times to the reign of Isma'īl Sāmānī. Read "Bukhār Khudāh" since the final *-t* seems to be an Arabic influence (hereafter *khudāh* in the translation). This title is NP *khudā*; comp. Sogdian *γwt'w*, since the language of Bukhara must have been very close to Sogdian. It is probable that the rulers of Bukhara used a form of the Sogdian word for king, *γwβ* or *γwβw* and this was mistaken for *khudā* by the Arabs (or Persians?). For this title on their coins cf. W. B. Henning *apud* R. N. Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (New York, 1949), 26-9. For a comprehensive discussion of the word *khudā*, cf. C. Bartholomae, "Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten III," (Heidelberg, 1920), also W. Lentz, "Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 4 (1926), 293. On the history of this dynasty cf. the forthcoming article by O. Pritsak, "Buḥārā Ḥudāh," in *Der Islam*.



31. Mamāstīn (D: Masnī): A village west of Bukhara also called Mastī (B and E) or Mamāstī. Cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih (*BGA* 6), 25; Qudāma ibn Ja'far, 203, and Yāqūt, 4, 393. Saqmatīn and Samatīn are not found in the Arabic geographical works. Both probably have the Sogdian word for "place," \**mēθan*, Av. *maēθana*, NP *mīhan*, Yaghnōbī *men*, *min*; cf. H. F. J. Junker, "Arische Forschungen. Yaghnōbī Studien I," *Abbl. Säch. Akad. der Wiss.* (Leipzig, 1930), 17, and S. I. Klimchitski, "Nazvanie Sogdiany v toponomike Tadzhikistana," *ZIV*, 6 (1937), 11. On Farab or Firabr see note 97.

32. Iskiykath: Yāqūt, 3, 106, omits the first vowel. On this town cf. Markwart, *Webrot und Arang*, 146, note 5. In his *Crestomathie Persane*, 1, 13, Schefer gives a version of Narshakhī based on another MS he used (or perhaps from one he borrowed from St. Petersburg). Here the name of the "other ruler" is given as *Askj*. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 43, says the name of the town is taken from this ruler, Askaj or Iskiy. The name possibly means "high town," Sogdian 'sk + kaθ, with feminine -c', for -aka adjectives. For Shargh and Rāmitīn see notes 67 and 80.

33. Farakhshā: Sām'ānī, 422 b, says this is a shortened form for Afrakhshā, a village of Bukhara. Cf. Iṣṭakhri, 338, and other geographers. The ruins of Varaksha (Farakhsā) are located in the sands 14-15 km. west of the present boundary of the oasis, according to Shishkin, *Arkhitekturny Pamyatniki Bukhary*, 8. Cf. his "Arkhitekturnaya dekoratsiya dvortsa v Varakhshe," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 4 (1947), 225-92, regarding excavations undertaken in 1937-39 on the castle of the ruler of Bukhara.

34. Daughter of the king of *Chin* brought as a bride: Markwart, *Webrot und Arang*, 152, offers two suggestions: The Chinese bride was a princess of the fallen house of Sui, sent by the first T'ang emperor Kao-tsu to Bukhara with the envoys of Bukhara. He also suggests that she might well have been the daughter of a Buddhist ruler of Chinese Turkestan. He admits, however, (p. 151) that Chinese records have no account of such an event. Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 14, admits the lack of information in Chinese sources, but says they do mention the marriage of a Turkish prince with a Chinese princess. He seeks to identify this prince with the ruler of the Bukhara area (cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 245) or Shir-i Kishvar. *Chin*, of course, can mean a state in Central Asia. On titles from Central Asia cf. Pritsak "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker. Kap. II, Tabrač und Tonga," to appear in *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*.

35. Coins were struck: This statement is accepted by J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, (London, 1941), lxxxvii. The second part of the statement may be restricted to the "Bukhār-Khudāh" type coins, for Kushan and Sasanian coins certainly circulated in the region of Bukhara. O. I. Smirnova, "Materialy k svodnomu katalogu sogdiiskikh monet," *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 6 (1952), 7, note, mentions the derivation of the Sogdian word *pny* "money" from Chinese.

36. Ṭughshāda: There is much confusion here, but Pritsak's emendation seems correct. Abū Muslim did not kill Ṭughshāda, according to our text below. I have found no information on Sukān ibn Ṭughshāda or Bun-



yāt ibn Ṭughshāda in the standard Arabic and Persian histories. The killing of one of these Bukhār Khudāhs, by order of the caliph, may refer to the time of the revolt of Bābak and the suppression of the revolt by the caliph's general Afshīn; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 6, 328-30. The internal history of all of the cities of Transoxiana has been lost and little survives in general Muslim histories. Ṭabarī, Add. 2, 1693, gives a variant of the name Ṭughshāda: Ṭūq Shiyāda. He is mentioned in Chinese sources; cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 138, and Markwart, *Ērān-šahr*, 309. The second element of the name may be compared with the title *shad*, "prince," found in the Orkhon inscriptions. Bunyāt is explained as Windāt in F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 369. But compare NP *bun-yād* "foundation." The name *Sukān* is not found elsewhere, to my knowledge. Like Ṭughshāda compare Sogdian *twk'sp'šk*, a ruler of Sughd 696-8 A.D., according to O. I. Smirnova, "Sogdiiskie monety kak novyi istochnik dlya istorii Srednei Azii," *SV*, 6 (1949), 366. O. Pritsak has prepared an article on the Buḥārā Hudāh, *op. cit.* In a communication of 10 April '53, he writes, "Ṭughshāda ist im Ramadan (11 Aug.-9 Sep't. 739) ermordet worden; er regiert in den Jahren: 707 (bzw. 709) bis 739. Seine Nachfolger waren seine drei Söhne; 1) Qutaiba ibn Ṭughshāda (739-750), der auch in den chin. Quellen erscheint; 2) S.kān ibn Ṭughshāda [es ist möglich, das dieser sonst unbelagte Name S.kān eine verderbte Schreibung des Wortes Āslān bzw. Ārslān ist; ein Bruder des Ṭughshāda erscheint in den chin. Quellen als A-si-lan ta-kan—Arslan tarqan] (750-757?); und 3) Bunyāt ibn Ṭughshāda (757 ?-781)."

37. Bīdūn (E: Bndūn): On this name cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 100, note 5. It appears as the title of the ruler of Kish (Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 101, trans. 109, as *nīdūn*, also manuscript variant in the Istanbul MS, *Sdūn*, and the same in Ibn Khurdādhbih, 40.) Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ*, 413, says Bndūn was killed by Salm (Muslim) ibn Ziyād, and this was in 61/680. O. Pritsak writes, "Der letzte Buḥārā Hudāh war Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hālid ibn Bunyāt [wohl Bunyāt II], gest. 301/913."

38. Khātūn: Probably the Sogdian word for "queen;" Buddhist Sogdian *γwt'ynh* from \**xwataūnī*, feminine of \**xwatawan*; comp. Av. *ašaoni*; cf. I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (London Ph.D. Thesis 1943, now Oxford, 1954), p. 18, para. 133. This title was borrowed by the Turks and used for the title of the wife of the khan. It is also found in Khotanese Saka *ḥattuna*; H. W. Bailey, "A Turkish-Khotanese Vocabulary," *BSOAS*, 11 (1944), 290. The form *γwt'ynh* is the feminine of Sogdian *γwt'w* "king," NP: *khudā*. A. Meillet, "Notes Irlandiennes," *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, 17 (1911), 110, proposed that this title was introduced into the East by the Parthians from Greek *αὐτὸκράτορ*. This is discussed further by H. H. Schaeder, "Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte," *UJ*, 15 (1936), 570. On the Turkish forms of *khātūn* cf. W. Bang, "Turkologische Briefe aus dem Berliner Ungarischen Institut," *UJ*, 5 (1926), 248-9.

O. Pritsak (10 April '53) writes: "Ich glaube nicht an die sogdische Etymologie des Titels *xatun*. Die ältere Form dieses Wortes ist 可賀



敦 also \*qayātun, vgl. F. W. K. Müller 'Uigur. Glossen,' in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (Berlin, 1920), 8, 313, und K. Shiratori, 'The Title Katun,' in *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 1 (1926), 34-5."

P. Wittek in *Der Islam*, 14 (1925), 402-6, suggested that the figure of a princess on the wall paintings of Qusayr 'Amr in Jordan represents the khātūn of Bukhara. This was disputed by E. Herzfeld in his *Archeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 5 (1933), 149-52. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb in *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), 196-7. The name, in the form *kātūn* (in Syriac) appears on tombstones in Semirechye, present Kirgiz SSR; cf. Radloff *apud* D. Chwolson, "Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie," *IAN*, 7 série, 37, no. 8 (1890), 135-6.

39. Rīgistān: probably "place of sand," the central square of Bukhara similar to the famous square of Timurid Samarqand.

40. They stood in two rows: Gardizī (V. Bartold, "Otchet o poezdke . . .," *ZAN* (1897), 90 and Kuun Géza, 64) says: "The khāqān of the Toghuzghuzz has a thousand servants and four hundred slave girls. These thousand men every year eat with the khāqān, three times a day. . . . The khāqān comes out to the common people only on rare occasions." The procedure of standing in two lines in the presence of a governor or high official is followed today in Turkistān, as I observed in Mazār-i Sharīf in 1943.

41. Vardān Khudāh: Hajjāj considered him dangerous and ordered Qutaiba to attack him. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 1198 and Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 424. Little is known of these petty Central Asian rulers beyond the fact of their existence. Vardāna was a large village in the vicinity of Bukhara, present-day Vardanzi. It is now half-buried in the sand, an abandoned village on the northern border of the oasis of Bukhara. Cf. V. A. Shishkin, *Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Bukhary* (Tashkent, 1936), 8, note 2, and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 113. The name *wrdn* is found in Sogdian; cf. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens* (Paris, 1940), 114; story 8, 179.

42. D: "He had hope as long as Qutaiba was alive." The forthcoming article of Pritsak will clarify the rule of Ṭughshāda. A'tham Kūfī, as quoted by Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Hvārizm ve Semerkand'i zaptı," *Revue de la Faculté de Langues, d'Histoire et de Géographie*, 6 (Ankara, 1948), 394, (not in Bombay ed.), says the name of the ruler of Bukhara when Qutaiba captured it was M'āsūn ibn Dā', which is obviously corrupt. Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, and other Arabic sources, give Vardān Khudāh as the ruler.

43. The statement that Bukhara was ruled by Ṭughshāda thirty-two years is in agreement with the date of the death of this ruler in the time of Naṣr ibn Saiyār; cf. note 36.

44. Qutaiba ibn Ṭughshāda: The Bukhār Khudāh in the time of Abū Muslim became a partisan of the latter. (See Chapter XXVI and note 36.) On the "White Raiments" and Muqanna' cf. Chapter XXVII.

45. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Laith: He is mentioned several times in Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 193, 213. In 301/913 or 4 he supervised the burial of the amir Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, second ruler of the Sāmānid dynasty. Cf.



Ibn al-Athīr 8, 58. This man has no connection with the contemporary governor of Fārs with the same name in Ṭabarī, 3, 2010.

46. He gave it back as a pension: This is the feudal *iqṭa'* system, which was greatly developed in the days of the Seljūks. On the technical aspects cf. M. Sobernheim article *ikṭa* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; see also C. Schefer, *Siyāsat nāme*, 28, trans., 40-1, and the Russian translation by B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), 34ff.

47. The paymaster: *'ārid*; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 105, translates it "the army paymaster." E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 5, 2011, quoting the *Tāj al-'arūs*, says it means "reviewer of an army."

48. Sifna and Siyavunch (B: Isfna): Barthold, *Turkestan*, 119, vocalizes Sufna and Sivanch, and says the latter may be identical with the village of Isvāna. The vocalization of the *Burhān-i qāṭi* has been used here, although the villages there are not the same as these.

49. Zarafshān: This is the Πολυτίμητος of the Greeks. The MP designation was *\*Beh-varj* for J. Markwart, *A Catalogue, op. cit.*, 30; cf. also his *Wehrot und Arang*, 154, note 2; *zar-afshān*: "gold scattering." The river did not have a single name in Muslim literature, and the name *Namik* had been forgotten by the first century of Islam, according to the lengthy discussion in W. Tomaschek, "Centralasiatische Studien," *SWAW*, 87 (1877), 78-85. The present designation is not found till the 18th century; see V. Bartold, *K Istorii Orosheniya Turkestana* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 103. The Arab geographers call it the river of Sughd. It is today also called the Chupan-ata (from a hill near Samarqand). In the Tajik text *Samariya* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 9 (Tehran, 7), it is called the *Kūhak* river.

50. Karmīna: It is a village outside the great wall of Bukhara, and has suburbs and many *ribāṭs*; almost a thousand according to Iṣṭakhri, 314. (This may be a mistaken reference to Baikand.) References to it are frequent in Maqdisī (*BGA* 3), 324, who says fine serviettes are made there. Yāqūt, 3, 95, says it is one of the towns of the Marzbān of Sughd, and (1, 210) counts it one of the towns of Samarqand province on the road to Bukhara. Sam'ānī, 480 b, says Abū Tūrab 'Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Karminī says the name was given to the village by the Arabs during the conquests. They compared it with Armenia because of its beauty and abundance of water and greenness. It was conquered by Qutaiba in 88/707.

51. Grand mosque: *masjid-i jāmi'*, also translated as "cathedral mosque," "gathering mosque," or "Friday mosque." E. Diez, *Glaube und Welt des Islam* (Stuttgart, 1941), 165-8, says there are two expressions: *masjid al-juma'*, "Friday mosque," and *masjid al-jāmi'*, "gathering mosque, or principal mosque." The resemblance of the early mosques with the Nestorian churches in Iran, started the use of the term, "cathedral mosque," according to Diez. It was the principal mosque of the town, where the *khuṭba* was read.

52. Lykoshin translates it "the little pitcher."

53. Parasang: OP: *\*fraṭaha*, MP: *frasang*, NP: *farsang*; cf. Markwart,



*Das erste Kapitel der Gāpā uštavati* (Rome, 1930), 4. Buddhist Sogdian 'βs'ny, Manichaean fns'x; cf. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, para. 316 and 435.

54. Nūr: A town located between Bukhara and Samarqand near a mountain. According to Sam'ānī, 570 b, and Yāqūt, 4, 822, people go there on pilgrimages to visit its shrines and tombs of martyrs. It is the present Nur-ata northeast of Bukhara; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 119. Nūr <Arabic "light"?

55. ribāt: According to A. Sprenger, "Die Post und Reiserouten des Orients," *AFKM*, 3, no. 3 (Leipzig, 1864), 2, it was first a place where horses were kept, then a military station, and finally a caravansarai. In Central Asia it was a frontier stronghold against infidels and nomads; cf. A. Yu. Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya Expeditsiya 1934 g," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 136, 144. Ribāts were established by the Muslim warriors. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 504 and passim, uses the form *rabāt*. It is pronounced *rawat* in Yaghnōbi; cf. H. F. J. Junker, *Arische Forschungen. Yaghnōbi Studien I*, 51.

56. Tawāis (B, D, E: Tawāisa): The plural of *tā'ūs* "peacock" is *ṭawāwīs* in Arabic. It is inside the walls of Bukhara and has a citadel. People come to the fair held there from all over Transoxiana. It is noted for its orchards and running water, and large quantities of cloth which are exported; cf. Iṣṭakhri, 313; Yāqūt, 3, 555. In another place Yāqūt, 1, 518, says it is called the city of Bumijkath. Bīrūnī, *Athār al-bāqīya*, 234, says a fair of seven days is held there. The *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans. Minorsky, 113, however, says it is only one day. Ṭabarī, 2, 1230, says the Arabs on their return from Kish and Nasaf to Bukhara stopped in a village where there was a fire temple and a Buddhist temple. There were also peacocks there, so the Arabs gave it that name (i.e. "peacocks"). It is located on the eastern edge of the oasis of Bukhara and is the present-day site of Shakhri-Vairon near the railroad station of Qyzl Tepe; cf. V. Bartold, "Mesta do-Musulmanskogo kulta v Bukhare," *Vostochnye Zapiski*, 1 (1927), 23, and V. Shishkin, *Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Bukhary*, 31. Were the peacocks sacred? Cf. Spuler, 189, note 2, and H. F. J. Junker, "Mp. frašēmurv Pfau," *Wörter und Sachen*, 12 (1929), 132-58. Arqūd or Arfūd is the name of a village near Karmīna according to Yāqūt, 1, 209-10.

57. Fair: *bāzār* has three meanings: (1) A market day, usually once a week, when farmers bring their wares to the village to sell. (2) The physical establishments, the shops, and (3) a fair held at specific times, which is the meaning here. The original sense is connected with movement.

58. Tīr māh the fourth month of the year usually came in the summer; cf. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Old Iranian Calendars* (London, 1938), 19.

59. Chāch (B, C, D, E, F: Jāj): Persian; in Arabic, al-Shāsh. This was a large town near the site of modern Tashkent. Sogdian *c'c* in the "list of nations," Henning, *Sogdica*, 9. It was a province as well as a city; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169.

60. *Juft*: The amount of land a pair of oxen might plow in one day.



It is not a specific measure. According to the *Burhān-i qāṭi*, it rhymes with *muft*, and is equal to the Arabic *fiddān*.

61. Dāghūnī: According to Sam'ānī, 219 b, this name is peculiar to the people of Merv. He lists several scholars who had this name, but no Sahl ibn Aḥmad. He says the name is also used to designate a seller of shoes. Naisābūrī, in his *Tārīkh*, foll. 32 a, mentions an 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥ. ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī abū Muḥ. al-Dāghūnī, and the *Tārīkh Samarqand*, foll. 73 b, mentions an Abī'l 'Abbās-al-Daghūnī.

62. Pritsak (10 April '53) writes: "Über die Karachanidische Dynastie und über den neusten Stand der Forschung, auch mit einer genealog. Tafel, orientiert der Aufsatz von Pritsak, 'Karachaniden,' *Der Islam*, 31 Heft 1 (1953), 17-68. [Die türkische Übersetzung in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.] Den Titel Ṭamghāj (Ṭanghāj) Khān führte der Vater des Shams al-Mulk Ibrāhīm und nicht Ibrāhīm's Vater Naṣr ibn 'Alī; der Titel des letzteren war: Arslan Ilig."

63. Khwānsālār (D, E: Sālār): "steward, *dapifer*." Cf. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World*, 278. The term was used in Moghul India for the superintendent of the imperial kitchen: *Ā'in-i Akbarī* by Abu'l Fazl 'Allāmī, trans. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1939), 5. Lit. "head of the table," *xwān*. For a discussion of Persian forms cf. Poure-Davoud, I., *Hormazd-nāmeḥ* (Tehran, 1953), 361. See also A. Lambton, 432.

64. Pritsak (10 April '53) writes "Über den Ġibra'il b. 'Omar (mit den Titeln: Qadir xan und Toṛan xan) aus der ost-Karachanid. Linie der in dem Jahre 492-495/1099-1102 Gross-Kagan des west Karachanidischen Reiches (Hauptstadt Samarkand) gewesen ist und den Saṅgar am 2. ša'bān 495/22 Mai 1102 getötet hatte, s. Pritsak, 'Karachaniden,' *op. cit.*"

65. Ṭuḡrul Bek (B: his preferred name was 'Alī Ṭuḡrul): *Tuḡhrul/tuḡhrul* "gerfalcon." Pritsak (10 April '53) writes: "Im System des Karachanidischen Reiches pflegten die Stammesoberhäupter als Titel die alten Totemnamen (onyun) des betreffenden Stammes zu führen. In den meisten Fällen handelt es sich dabei um Raubtiernamen (z.B. *Arslan*, *Burra*, *Yīran*, *Bōri*, usw.) bzw. um die Raubvogelnamen (*Toṛrul*, *Toṛan*, *Čayrī* usw.). Näheres darüber in Pritsak, *Karachanid. Studien*, Nr. 10 (in manuscript)."

*Bek/bäg* "prince," appears in the Orkhon inscriptions. Compare Sogdian βγw "sir, lord," OP *baga*; cf. F. Fuad Köprülü, "Zur Kenntnis der alttürkischen Titular," *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, 4 (1938), 329.

66. Kūlār Tekīn: Kūlār < *kül*, a popular name in Uighur and Orkhon Turkish "slave" + *är* "man"? *Tekin/tigin* "prince," has been explained as a borrowing from Iranian, MP *teg*, Av. *taxma*, "hero," by J. Kirste "Orabazes," *SWAW*, 182 (1917), 21, note 1. Compare the appellative *tikin* "Herrin," applied to the goddess Anahita; S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Lund, 1946), 94. P. Pelliot, "Tāngrim > tārim," *TP*, 37 (1944), 179, note, suggests that the Turks borrowed the title from Mongolian in the 6th century A.D.; Mongolian \**digin*. Cf. Pritsak, *Karach. Studien*, Nr. 9 (in manuscript), and his "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 49.



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67. Shargh (B: Jargh): According to Yāqūt, 3, 276, it has been Arabized from Chargh. Iṣṭakhri, 311, speaks of the river of Jurgh, so also the other geographers. Many scholars came from there according to Yāqūt.

68. Sāmjan: It is mentioned in the Arabic geographies under various names. Cf. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 29 note 2, and 81. The district of Sāmjan, mentioned in a *waqf* document attributed to Isma'il Sāmānī, is identified with present Ramitan to the west of Bukhara by O. D. Chekovich, "Krestyanskie obyazatelstva v svyazi s gramotoy Ismaila Samani," *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 33 (1950), 261. The lake is identified as Iskandar Kul, the source of the Zarafshān river by Markwart. The two elements of the word are interpreted as *sām*; comp. Av. *sāma* "black," and *jan* "water course?," by Markwart *op. cit.*, 81.

69. Ḥarāmkām (or Ḥavāmkām): Compare Sogdian *kn*—"to dig, cut."

70. Arslān Khān: Pritsak writes (10 April '53): "Arslan war der Titel der Gross-Kagan der Karachanidischen Reiches; das Karachanidische Kaganat—mit der Hauptstadt in Balasayun (Quz Ordu)—zerfiel um 433/1041-2 in zwei Kaganats: ein Ost- (mit der Hauptstadt in Kašgar) und ein West-Kaganat (mit der Hauptstadt in Samarqand); der Mit-Kagan (Doppel-Königtum!) führte den Titel *Burra xan*. Über das ganze System der Titel, die mit der jeweiligen Würde verbunden waren, s. Pritsak, *Karachanid. Studien*, *op. cit.*, besonders Nr. 4, 6, 7. Über den westkarachanid. Gross-Kagan (Arslan xan) Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān, der 495-524/1102-30 regierte und 526/1132 gestorben ist, s. Pritsak, 'Karachaniden,' *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 50-51."

71. Aloe gum: *qinṭār*. D: *qinṭār -ī khūshāb*.

72. *Ādhina*: "Friday." This is the subject of a long and involved discussion by J. Marquart, "NP *ādina* 'Freitag,'" *UJ*, 7, (1927), 89-121, especially 95-6 and 115. W. B. Henning, "The Manichaean Fasts," *JRAS* (1945), 153, note 2, suggests that Sogdian "*dyn'h* (in text "*dyn'*") was borrowed from Persian, or late MP, and the word is probably pre-Muslim.

73. Zandana: References are found in Iṣṭakhri, 315 and Maqdisi, 281. The latter says it has many villages around it. Yāqūt, 2, 952, mentions the famous cloth. The present site has not been definitely identified, but it is north of Bukhara. Sam'ānī, 280 a, mentions a village of Bukhara called Zandi. Cf. note 141.

74. Zandanījī: Cloth from Zandana with suffix of origin, Sogdian *-čyk*, NP *-či/zī*. Most NP dictionaries describe it as a coarse, white cloth usually made of cotton. The *Burhān-i qāṭi* as well as other dictionaries, prefer the form *zandpiči*, from *pičīdan* "to twist, and intertwine." In Russia *zenden*, for silk cloth used for clothes, is found as early as the 17th century. On the Russian forms cf. Inostrantsev, "Iz istorii starinnykh tkanei," *ZVOIRAO*, 13 (1900), 080-085, and I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlya Slovarya Drevne-Russkago Yazyka*, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1893), 977. According to the *Siyāsāt nāme* (ed. Schefer), 95 (Zakhoder, 110) it was especially worn by Turkish slaves beginning their service in the government of the Sāmānids and later the Seljūks. Cf. R. B. Serjeant,



"Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest," *Ars Islamica*, 11-12 (1946), 123-5. It is possible that some of the "Būyid or Seljūk" textiles found in Iran may be identified as Zandanījī.

75. citadel and fort: On Bukhara cf. G. Pugachenkova & L. Rempel, *Bukhara* (Institut Istorii i Teorii Arkhitektury, Moscow, 1949), 67 pp. with plates. One of the best short discussions of the city in Central Asia in the Middle Ages is by V. Bartold, "K Istorii Merva," *ZVOIRAO*, 19 (1909), 116-7. It seems, for Narshakhī at any rate, a city was composed of (1) city proper, *sharistān*, Arabic *madīna*; (2) the citadel, *kuhandiz* or *diz*, Arabic *qal'a*; (3) the residence of the ruler in the citadel, the *arg*, Arabic *qasr*; (4) the suburbs, *rustā*, Arabic *rabad*. There is confusion in the use of terms especially when applied to different cities. According to Bartold, "Persidskaya *ark* krepost, tsitadel," *Izvestiya Ross. Akad. Istorii Materialny Kultury* (Petrograd, 1920), 1, 29, the word *arg* originated in Sistan and spread only after the Mongol conquest.

76. Afshina: Yāqūt, 1, 330, gives the names of many learned men from this village. He vocalizes it Afshana. Maqdisī, 282, says many volunteers of the faith come to fight infidels from this village, which is west of Baikand. Compare the title of the rulers of Ustrūshana, *afšm* from *xšēwan*; see Henning in I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, para. 314.

77. Muḥammad ibn Wāsi': This may be Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Wāsi' al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, who participated in fighting in Jurjān under Yazīd ibn Muḥallab in 98/716-7. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 1326. He died in 123/740-1 (Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 190), or 127/744-5 (*ibid.*, 5, 259).

78. Barkad (D: Barkand): Sam'ānī, 75 b, and Yāqūt, 1, 589, give lists of learned men from this village. No other information is found in the other geographers.

79. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: Sixth of the twelve Shī'ite Imāms. According to some he was the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa. There is much literature, fact as well as fancy, about him. Cf. Ṭabarī, 3, 2509, and references in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* under Dja'far.

80. Rāmitīn: Other spellings are found in the Arabic geographies. A long discussion of this town, with many references, is found in Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 139-141. It was the old capital of Bukhara. He suggests a derivation of the name from *Aryā mēthan* "dwelling-place of the Aryans (?)." Perhaps NP *rām* "happy," hence "place of peace?" E. Herzfeld in *Zoroaster and his World*, 477, translates *mēthan* as "farm." The history of the town is given in Markwart's footnotes. A village of Ramitan exists today near Bukhara; cf. V. A. Shishkin, *Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Bukhary* (Tashkent, 1936), 8 note, but Barthold, "Die alttürk. Inschriften und die arab. Quellen," in Radloff, *Die Alttürk. Inschriften der Mongolei*, Zweite Folge (St. Petersburg, 1899), 7, identifies Rāmitīn with the present Charshambe. (I owe this reference to O. Pritsak.)

81. Afrāsiyāb: The eponymous king of Turān and hero of the Turks. The *Shāh nāme* is full of references to him, as is the history of the Persians by al-Tha'libī (ed. and trans. Zotenberg). Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (2nd ed., 1944), 156, note 5.



82. Siyāvush: He appears frequently in the *Shāh nāme*; cf. Christensen, *Les Kayanides* (Copenhagen, 1932), 82. The Khwārazmians claimed him as their ancestor; cf. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, 753, and Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 139, note 4. This section of Narshakhī is discussed by Barthold, "Zur Geschichte der persischen Epos," *ZDMG*, 98 (1944), 143-4. For a lengthy discussion see also M. M. Dyakonov, "Obraz Siyavusha v Sredneaziatskoi Mifologii," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya In-ta. Istorii Materialnoi Kultury*, 40 (1951), 42, where he proposes the etymology "black stallion" for the name. Cf., however, Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 204-5, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*.

83. Rāmush: vocalized Rāmish "joy" by Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 140. Bīrūnī, *Athār*, text 234, trans. 221, says the Magians of Bukhara assembled here for festivals. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, 726, says Ardashīr, first of the Sasanians, founded a town called Rāmišn Artaxšīr.

84. Fire temples: Zoroastrianism for the most part had replaced Buddhism in Transoxiana by the time of the Arab conquest. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang had difficulty with fire worshippers in Transoxiana; cf. S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911), 45, and Barthold, "Mesta do-Musulmanskogo kulta v Bukhare," *Vostochnye Zapiski*, 1 (1927).

85. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 101, has the form Ma'bid but Ma'bad is preferable. On Khwāja Imām see note 203.

86. Kīn-i Siyāvush: "The revenge for Siyāvush." These were dirges by professional mourners according to Dyakonov, *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 40 (1951), 36, note. Markwart in *Wehrot und Arang*, 140, says the people have *Robrflötenmelodien* about this. In the *Burhān-i qāti'* this is the name of the twentieth air of Bārbud (Bārbadh). On the musical instruments of the Sogdians cf. K. Inostrantsev, "O do-musulmanskoi kulture Khivinskago oazisa," *ZMNP* (Feb., 1911), 290. On the music of the Sasanians cf. A. Christensen, "La vie musicale dans la civilisation des Sassanides," *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient*, 20 (Paris, 1936), 24-45, esp. 33 and 40, also his "Some Notes on Persian Melody-names of the Sasanian Period," *The Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1918), 370, 375. Tolstov in *Drevnii Khorezm*, 202-3, compares the cult of Siyāvush with that of Σαβαΐος from the Near East. He also considers the connection of the name Siyāvush with the Oxus River, and he terms the pre-Islamic dynasty of Khwārazm the Siyāvushids.

87. Varakhsha (D: Farakhsha): See note 33. Yāqūt, 2, 558, gives Dakhfandūn for Rajfundūn. The form Farakhshā is also found.

88. palace: Persian > Arabic *kākh* "palace or villa," is equivalent to NP *kūshak* (Arabic *jausaq*) and *saray*. On *kūshak* or *kūshk* see B. Geiger, "Mittelpersische Wörter und Sachen," *WZKM*, 42 (1935), 122. In the *Frahang-i Pahlavik*, ed. H. F. J. Junker (Heidelberg, 1912), 50, *kūshk* is equated to Aramaic *papilyōn* "tent, pavilion." Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 151, however, says the *kūshk* was the fortified living quarters of an aristocrat included in the larger complex, the *kākh*. This conclusion is based on his excavations in Central Asia. He identifies *kākh* with Arabic *dār*. The



word *kākh* seems to have been used especially in eastern Iran. Compare Sogdian *k'rk* "palate," (Henning); cf. his *Sogdica* (London, 1940), 6.

89. Khnk Khudāh: with variants. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), 178, vocalizes Khunuk "fortunate." Marquart read this as Khang and was inclined to identify him with Vardān Khudāh in *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1898), 63. On this passage cf. V. A. Shishkin, "Arkhittekturnaya dekoratsiya dvortsa v Varakhshe," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 4 (Leningrad, 1947), 225-230. I suspect this Khnk is the name of the Khātūn, perhaps to be read *Khtk*. See notes 165 and 167.

90. The New Year's day of the Magians: We have here probably the distinction between the Sogdian calendar and the Persian calendar together with the five days epagomenae. The New Year's day of the farmers should be on the first of Farvārdin and the New Year's day of the Magians on the sixth. Cf. the writings of S. Taqizadeh, *Old Iranian Calendars* (London, 1938), esp. 49-55, and his "The Old Iranian Calendars Again," *BSOAS* 14 (1952), 603-11. Cf. also G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala, 1938), 165. On the Manichaean calendars cf. W. B. Henning, "The Murder of the Magi," *JRAS* (1944), 133-5, and his "The Manichaean Fasts," *JRAS* (1945), 146-64, also H. Lewy, "The Genesis of the Faulty Persian Chronology," *JAOS*, 64 (1944), 205, note 91. On the word *magi*, cf. Benveniste, *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran* (Paris, 1938), 15.

91. Baikand: Most geographers agree that Baikand had more than a thousand *ribāts* and was strongly fortified. The beauty of its mosque and *mihrāb* is attested by Yāqūt, 1, 797. Sam'ānī, 100 a, gives a long list of learned men from Baikand. The ruins of Baikand cover 20 hectares. In 1913-14 it was excavated by L. A. Zimin and in 1939 by A. Yakubovskii. The excavations confirmed Ṭabarī, 2, 169 (the account of how 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād captured half of Baikand), for there were two cities, a new and old, separated by a wall. In the western (older) half of the city coins of the Kushans, Sogdians, Sāmānid and later dynasties were found. Cf. A. Yu. Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya Ekspeditsiya 1939 g.," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 52-62. Marquart interprets the word (*Ērānshahr*, 309) as \**pati-kanta* "house of the ruler." On MP *by*, Iranian *faga* cf. H. W. Bailey, "Kusanica," *BSOAS*, 14 (1952), 422. Comp. Sogdian *p'y* "to guard" and *knθ* "city"; but all etymologies of place names are hazardous. W. Eilers, "Der alte Name des persischen Neujahrsfestes," *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (Weisbaden, 1953), 71, connects Baikand with *bai*, *bag* "God" (> Turkish *bey*, *beg*). I am unsure of the nominal element in *p'y* and hesitate to advance a surmise.

92. Attacks of infidels: Islam was on the defensive until the time of the Sāmānids when the latter began an offensive, and for over a century the *ghāzis* (warriors for the faith) spread Islam in the steppes. The expansion of Islam was more incidental to the age-old struggle of the steppe and the sown, as well as the desire for plunder and adventure, rather than to a religious crusade. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 214-15.



93. *Text: daryā* "the sea." An alternate reading of the Tehran edition has *diyār* "countries," or "another country." A. Burnes, *Travels Into Bokhara*, 2 (London, 1835), 298, believes it means the Oxus river.

94. The bronze city or bronze fortress: This is discussed in detail by Markwart, *Webrot und Arang*, 159, 164, in *Ērānshahr*, 93, and *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 35-6. On the etymology of *diz* "fortress," cf. E. Wilhelm, "Die Parther," in *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of Dastur Sanjana* (Strassburg, 1904), 96.

95. Pārgīn Firākh and Qarā Kūl (B adds: and the Turks call it Dnksz or Vnknz): NP "open or wide cisterns." MP *frāx*, "wide," Armenian *parkēn*, "ditch." *Qara Göl*: Turkish "black sea."

96. "Routes and the Countries": This presumably is the famous work of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. ibn Aḥmad Jaihānī. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 12, and Brockelmann, S I, 407 (9).

97. Farab: It is also vocalized as *Firab* and *Firabr*. This is a well-known village on the Oxus river. According to the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, trans. 113, it is also situated on the edge of a desert. Sam'ānī, 422 a, mentions the learned men from there. The *Burhān-i qāṭi* says it is the name of a river. Yāqūt, 3, 867, says it is also called the *ribāt* of Tāhir ibn 'Alī. It is the first station after crossing the Oxus from Āmul on the road to Bukhara. Cf. A. Zeki-Validi, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, 6, Russian edition, 56. The vocalization here is Āfribar. It is the present town of Farab on the river Oxus. Maqdisī (*BGA* 3), 335, says, "the language of Āmul and Firabr sounds like Khwārazmian, but the meaning (of a word) is like Bukharan."

98. Shaddād: A mythical tyrant. Cf. *Mujmal al-tawārikh wa'l qīṣaṣ*, (Tehran 1318/1940), 187, also E. Wherry, *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran* (London, 1886), 4, 243, note 6. The meaning of the last three sentences is that the amir and judge were as independent and arbitrary as tyrants.

99. R. B. Serjeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest," *Ars Islamica*, 11-12 (1946), 121, translates this sentence, "They used to weave for the caliph, for the *kharādj* tax of Bokhara was spent on large carpets (*shādurvān*)." This ignores the qualifying adjective before *shādurvān*, which are hanging tapestries rather than carpets. From MP \**šāh-dar-pan* "protecting the door of the king," according to Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, 73, note 1. *Ṭirāz* existed in Sasanian Iran. Further references are given by Serjeant. In general *ṭirāz* from the east was cotton, while *ṭirāz* from Egypt was linen.

100. The taxes were frequently collected in kind; cf. A. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients* (Vienna, 1875), 1, 356. I interpret the word *'āmil* as tax collector here, although it simply means an official. It is a *vālī* in Khwārazm according to Nasavī; cf. O. Houdas, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti* (Paris, 1895), 54.

101. Bazar of Mākh: Yāqūt, 4, 380, says the man for whom the mosque



was named had been a fire-worshipper, but became a Muslim and made a mosque out of the temple. Sam'ānī, 499 a, tells the same story, and gives a list of prominent people of Bukhara with the name of Mākh. A. Christensen, "Die Moschee Mākh in Buḥārā," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 7 (1904), 49-51, connects this word with NP *māh* "month," and *mākh*, month of the Sogdians in Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. 46, trans. 56, Sogdian *m'y*. Whether this is to be connected with a moon-cult, as Christensen thinks, is open to question. Cf. V. Bartold, "Mesta do-Musulmanskogo kulta v Bukhare i ee okrestnostyakh," *Vostochnye Zapiski*, 1 (Leningrad, 1927), 18. On the pre-Islamic religions in Central Asia cf. A. Yakubovskii in *Po Sledam Drevnikh Kultur* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), 253-5.

102. There were two mosques of Magak in Bukhara, one in the bazar of Attar, and the other in the Kurpi bazar. Cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 15-16, where he seeks to locate the mosque of Mākh. The mosque of Magok-Attar was excavated in 1935 and by stratification was dated to the 9th century A.D. A full report of the work has not been seen. For a notice of the work done cf. *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 3 (1937), 270. Bartold, *Vostochnye Zapiski*, *op. cit.*, 16, discusses the location of the mosque, but it is identified in G. Pugachenkova and L. Rempel, *Bukhara* (Moscow, 1949), 16-17. Ibn Hauqal, 365, saw wooden figures of horses, camels, and wild animals on the square of Samarqand in the tenth century A.D. According to Ṭabarī, 3, 1841, in 870 A.D. (Buddhist) idols were sent from Kabul to Baghdad. Compare the wooden figures of Kafiristan. It was probably in the east that the *madrasa* (religious school) evolved, according to V. Bartold, "Vostochno-Iranskii Vopros," *Izvestiya Rossiiskoi Akademii Istarii Materialnoi Kultury*, 2 (1922), 381, and his "Mesta do-Musulmanskogo kulta v Bukhare," *op. cit.*, 14. Compare Mākhak, p. 37.

103. The name Numijkath was known and used. Juvainī, 1, 76, says, "the derivation of the name *Bukhara* is from *bukhār*, which in the language of the Magians is 'the assembly place of knowledge.' This word is similar to that in the language of the idol-worshippers—the Uighurs and the Chinese (*lit.* Kathayans), which means place of worship; i.e., the place of their idols is called *bukhār*. At the time of its founding the name of the town was Bumijkat." Sam'ānī, 91 a, vocalizes Bamjikath. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 161, note 2, gives a history of the various names of the town. Numijkath is derived from Sogdian \**nōk-mēθan* "new residence," according to Markwart. He explains *Bumičkath* as "Landesstadt." Both explanations are questionable. The ending -č may be the Sogdian feminine of -*aka*- stems, -*c* added to adjectives. The word may be *nwm'y* "nine," hence "ninth town." *Nmj* is mentioned as a town distinct from Bukhara by Nasafī, *Qandiya*, 58.

104. Fākhira: This is explained in Yāqūt, 3, 833, who says that the prophet Job (Aiyūb) went there and blessed Bukhara, so it became "Fākhira." Possibly Fākhira < Sogd. *βrrr* (*firhār*) < Skrt, *vihāra*. Cf. Benveniste, *Bull. de la soc. ling.*, 28 (1928), 7, and Gauthiot, *JA* (1911), 53-6. Pritsak writes: "Diese Tradition, dass der Prophet Job in Buchara weilte, war auch in einer der früheren Redaktionen des Werkes von



Naršahī, wie es das Zitat im um 1412 A.D. verfasstem Werk, *Kitāb-i Mullāzāde* zeigt (Hds. der Royal Asiatic Society in London s. 6)."

105. Nūjābādī: Sam'ānī, 570 a, merely says Nūjābād is a village of Bukhara, and names several learned men from there. Yāqūt, 4, 821, gives the full name, Muḥ. ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥ. Abū Bakr al-Nūjābādī, who lived to an old age, and was noted for his piety. He died on the 18th of Jumādā the first, 533/22 January 1139.

106. In the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* of Qazvīnī, text 246, trans. 238, we find "Beyond Samarqand is a village that is called Qaṭawān; from here 70,000 martyrs will go forth, each of whom will make intercession for 70,000 of the members of his kith and kin." This is probably taken from Yāqūt, 1, 518, line 20-1; cf. also Yāqūt, 3, 137. A *hadīth*, inserted in the beginning of D, fol. 2 b-3 a, is essentially the same as that told by Yāqūt, 1, 518, except D gives the source: 'Utbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Anṣārī said Muḥammad ibn Qā'id said from Abū Hārūn al-'Abadī from Warqā ibn al-Sa'd from Khadīfah ibn al-Yamān, may God be pleased with him, that the Prophet of God said, "Give aid to the city of Khurāsān on the other side of the river Oxus which is called Bukhara, surrounded with mercy and encompassed by angels, etc." On the same page of D the caliph 'Alī praises Bukhara, and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb does the same for Khurāsān. See a similar story, and *Fākhira* < *fakhr*, in Amīn Rāzī (ed. Schefer), 253.

107. Yishkard is probably the town of Veshgird, [W]ešgird or Bishkird in the mountains of Chaghāniyān in the Upper Oxus region near Termez; cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans. 115, 120, Iṣṭakhrī, 298 g, 325 k, and Yāqūt, 3, 337. Cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 227, and his *Wehrot und Arang*, 58, note, where the name is explained as \**Waxša-gerd* "founded on the Wakhš (river)." The relation with the Arabic word *qāsimīya* is unknown. In the *Shāh nāme* it is Višagird. According to G. V. Ptitsyn, "K voprosu o geografii Shakh-Name," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 4 (1947), 300, the name means "city of Viš," father of Turan.

108. Sumran (D: Smrāt): Yāqūt, 3, 133, also says the Arabs used this name for Samarqand. The Arabs had a tradition that a Himyarite named Shamir conquered the city. Cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen, 1919), 80, for further references. For various forms of *Volksetymologie* see N. I. Veselovskii, *Samariya*, 2-3. He quotes five explanations of the name from various authors.

On Samarqand, Μαράκανδα, cf. Markwart, "Kultur -und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten," *UJ*, 9 (1924), 94. On the Chinese sources see P. Pelliot, "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord," *JA*, 211 (1927), 272. Recently E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster* (Princeton, 1947), 753, suggested a connection with the root *šmar-*, *mar-*.

109. (See note 103) The word *Bukhara* is to be compared with the Turkish form *buqaraq*, according to Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, 32-3, 61. Cf. W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* (London, 1940), 9, where the Sogdian form *pwrr* is given. F. Altheim, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* (Tübingen, 1951), 112, proposes a Turkish etymol-



ogy *buqa* "steer," plus particle *-raq*, "land of the ox," the *Gava* of the Avesta. Compare, however, notes 103, 104, and see *BSOS*, 10 (1940), 94.

The people of Bukhara are noted for truthfulness above all other people of Khurāsān, according to Ibn al-Faqīh, 319. Maqdisī, 34, says the people of Bukhara are the most handsome in the province. In Yāqūt, 1, 518 the Prophet praises the city. Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 490, says that the people of Bukhara are gracious in manner of life, fine in actions, few in faults, firm in resolution, pure in conscience, and surpassing thereby all the people of Khurāsān.

110. According to Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, 3, 111, trans. Besim Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi* (Ankara, 1941), 3, 150, every year the fire-worshippers go to the place near Bukhara where Siyāvush was supposedly killed. There they cry and make sacrifices. They pour the blood of the sacrifices on his grave. Cf. also Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, text 235, trans. 222, on the festival of the Sogdians at the end of the year. The cult of Siyāvush is discussed by A. Yakubovskii in *Po Sledam Drevnikh Kultur* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), 250-8.

On the significance of the cock for the Zoroastrians see W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum* (Erlangen, 1882), 366. The cock (and hen) played an important role in the religious beliefs of the Indo-Europeans, especially the early Slavs. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I* (Halle, 1930), 254, note 2, and *Vidēvdāt* (Vendidad) 18, 14-17. For the Russians see Zeki Validi, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1939), 93, (Russian ed. 81).

111. Regarding a Turkish cult of lamentation for Afrāsiyāb, cf. A. Zeki Validi, "On Mubārakshāh Ghūrī," *BSOS*, 6 (1932), 852-4.

112. The practice of putting plaques on doors seems to have been common in Transoxiana, cf. note 185, and the old door of a house in Sughd with pegs on it in Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 466.

113. This same legend is found in Iṣṭakhri, 315; "the people of Bukhara say that (one) of the blessings of the citadel is that a corpse of a governor is never brought out of it, and no banner which goes out is ever lowered (in defeat)." Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 490, says that the people of Bukhara like to reminisce on the olden times with strange stories. They mutually agree that one of the blessings of their castle and citadel was that a corpse was never taken out of them, and no flag in it was ever lowered (in defeat). (This has been said also of Baghdad.) Regarding the palace built according to the figure of the constellation, it has been suggested that this may be a Manichaean influence; cf. A. M. Belenitskii, "O Pyandzhikentskikh Khramakh," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya In-ta. Istorii Materialnoi Kultury*, 45 (Moscow, 1952), 122.

114. The gates: This agrees with the Arab geographers. Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 483, calls the gate of the Ghūriyān the "gate of the grand mosque," which was just inside the *sharistān*, on the citadel side. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 101.

115. Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 482: "The citadel is outside the town but joined to it. It is equal to a small town in size. In it is a castle, the



home of the governor of Khurāsān of the house of Sāmān. It has wide and long walls. There is a grand mosque at the gate of the citadel in the city, and the prison is in the citadel. There is no other city in Khurāsān so strongly fortified." On the citadel of Bukhara cf. *Istoriya Narodov Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1950), 296-9.

116. Zangī 'Alī: No reference to him has been found elsewhere. He may be the amīr Zangī ibn 'Alī al-Khalīfa al-Shaibānī, who allowed the Ghuzz to enter Tūkhārīstān in 548/1153; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 11, 117-118. In 559/1164 he led the Ghuzz to the conquest of Ghazna. (Ibn al-Athīr, 11, 202). If this is the same person Narshakhī has made an error.

117. Pritsak writes: "Über den Titel Gūr Khān s. K. Menges, 'Der Titel Gūr Khān der Qara-Qytaj,' *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 24 (Heft 2-3), 1952, 84-8, und Pritsak 'Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der alt. Völker,' Kap. 4 (Gur xan und Činggis xan Altaischer Universalismus), *Karachanid. Studien* (in manuscript)."

"Der Statthalter des Gur xan in Buchara Alp Tigin hatte verwandtschaftlich mit den Āl Burhān nichts zu tun. Er war, wie Nizāmī 'Arūdī in *Chahār maqāla* angibt, Sohn des Amirs Bayābānī und Neffe vom Khwārazmshāh Atsīz (Samarqandī, 22, trans. 24)." Cf. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 53.

118. The date of the Ghuzz capture of Bukhara is a matter of dispute. C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, 1, 39, says 538 is ten years too soon. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 327, accepts Narshakhī's date. I have been unable to find Schefer's source, or any other source for this. 'Aīn al-Daula may be the one mentioned by the *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, 628. Cf. Pritsak in *Oriens*, 3 (1950), 224-6. Qarācha Bēk may be another name, or 'AD's appellation.

119. The conquest of Bukhara by the Khwārazmshāh is discussed by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 359-60. For the Mongol conquest of Bukhara, *ibid.*, 409. Tekesh, the Khwārazmshāh, besieged Bukhara in 594/1197, Ibn al-Athīr, 12, 90. On the Khwārazmian conquest of Bukhara see also *Al-tawassul ilā'l-tarassul* of Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥ. Baghdādī (Tehran, 1937), 125-131. On this work see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 33.

120. The "Time of Ignorance" refers to the pre-Islamic age in Arabia, but here it is the time just before the Muslim conquests. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1, 219-228.

121. Bureaus of State: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 229-232, gives a full and detailed explanation of all of the bureaus mentioned by Narshakhī. The three treasuries of 'Amr ibn Laith were not taken over by the Sāmānids; cf. Gardizī, ed. Muḥammad Nāzīm (Berlin, 1928), 15, (Tehran, 1937), 10. The reorganization of the administration of the caliphate at Baghdad by al-Mu'taḍid (279-89/892-902) into eleven bureaus must have found some echoes in the court at Bukhara. Cf. S. K. Bakhsh trans. of A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (Patna, 1937), 76-80. I translate *mustaufī* as "treasurer." This office was the deputy prime minister under the Moghuls of India, according to the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* of Abu'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, trans. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1939), 4-6. On the *muhtasib* "chief of the municipal police," cf. W. Behrnauer, "Mémoire sur les institutions de police chez



les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs," *JA* (1860), 114-190. B, C, D, E, F all add one bureau after the treasurer, the bureau of the '*amid al-mulk*, which is the same as *inshā'* or "correspondence." Cf. F. Isiltan, *Die Selt-schuken—Geschichte des Akserāyi* (Leipzig, 1943), 18, note 5. Cf. F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), index.

122. Narshakhī confuses the historian and the prime minister; they are two different persons; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 110, note 8.

123. Amir Rashīd: i.e. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh ibn Naṣr; see ch. XXXV. D has *murwaffaq*.

124. Evening of celebration (*sūri*): The night of the last Wednesday before *naurūz*, according to C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, 1, 42. However, there was no holiday at that time. The celebration of Sadeh came fifteen days before New Year's day. Cf. *Jashn-i Sadeh*, by Afshar, Pūr Dāūd, etc. (Tehran, 1946), 118 pp., 13 pp. French.

125. Amīr Sadīd: read Rashīd.

Jūy-i Mūliyān "canal of the clients," according to Narshakhī's interpretation, is a well-known site, the beauty and features of which were extolled by the poet Rūdakī, who lived at the court of the Sāmānids. Cf. *Chahār maqāla* of Nizāmī-i 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, trans. E. G. Browne, 35, and note, 121. For the verses of Rūdakī and further information, cf. Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl va ash'ār-i Rūdakī* (Tehran, 1932-41) 2, 533-6; 3, 909.

126. Text unclear. The late L. Bogdanov (Dugin) suggested the interpretation "The masters of the age and the architects have attempted (to guess from whence it comes and whither it goes)."

127. Hasan ibn Muḥ. ibn Ṭālūt: Regarding an anecdote of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir, where Ṭālūt is present, cf. the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, 1868), 20, 85-6. He is not mentioned in the standard histories.

128. Clients: For a discussion of the confused subject of clients and masters see I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1889), 1, 104, also A. Freiman, *Sogdiiskii Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 68-9.

It is interesting to note that there was a section of Bukhara where the descendants of Isma'il Sāmānī lived supported by income from *waqfs* down to 1920. Cf. O. D. Chekovich, "Krestyanskie obyazatelstva v svyazi s gramotoy Ismaila Samani," *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 33 (1950), 259-270. The *waqf* document of 986/1578, copied from an original of 254/868, gives a list of lands belonging to his descendants corresponding to the account of Narshakhī. Cf. Chekovich, "Novaya kollektsiya dokumentov po istorii Uzbekistana," *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 36 (1951), 263-8. Among the districts listed are Nahr-i Naukanda and Jūy-i Mūliyān.

129. Sīmā' l-Kabīr, "big face," was probably his nickname. No references to him have been found in the Arabic histories, but for others with the name Sīmā' see the index to Ṭabarī.

130. Dashtak may be Sogdian *dγšt* < \**dγst* "steppe, desert"; cf. W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* (London, 1940), 49, plus the diminutive suffix.

131. Shams al-Mulk was the Qarākhānīd ruler contemporary with



Malikshāh the Seljūk; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 314-16. Pritsak writes: "Shams al-Mulk war der *Laqab* (Ehrentitel) des west-Karachanid. Gross-Kagan Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm 460-72/1068-80." The gate of Ibrāhīm is said to be the present gate of Shaikh Jalāl according to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 102. Cf. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 46-47.

132. Shamsābād: This section is partly (and poorly) translated in A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (London, 1835), 2, 300-1, with comments.

133. Ghūruk: (also *qūrūq* and *ghurūq*). This was a royal hunting preserve enclosed with a wall or a fence. The word also meant the forbidden area near royal tombs in Mongol times. Cf. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (St. Petersburg, 1899), 2, 558-9. There may have been a confusion of two words: Mongolian *ayuruy* "camp," found in the *Secret History of the Mongols*; cf. F. W. Cleaves "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12 (1949), 113, note 102, and Mongolian-Turkish *qorīy* "royal preserve"; compare Mongolian *qorī-* "to enclose." Cf. P. Pelliot, "Sur la légende d' Uyuz-Khan en écriture ouigoure," *TP*, 27 (1930), 291. The form *qoriyi* "Krongebiet," appears in a Mongolian letter from Central Asia in G. J. Ramstedt, "Mongolische Briefe aus Idikut-Schähri bei Turfan," *SPAW* (1909), 843. In Safavid times it was a park reserved for the imperial harem. Such parks existed in ancient times; cf. Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, 8.1.11, and Ammianus Marcellinus, 24.5.2. For a photograph of the traces of such a park see E. Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran* (Chicago, 1940), plate 96.

A mile is the old Semitic measure of 2,000 cubits; here it is probably one-third of a parasang. On the word "parasang" see note 53.

134. Pigeon house: For a plan and photograph of a typical *kaptar* (*kabutar*) *khāna* of mediaeval Khwārazm see S. P. Tolstov, "Novye materialy po istorii Khorezma," *VDI* (1946), 1, 84-6.

135. For further information on Khidr Khan and Aḥmad Khan cf. V. Grigoriev, "Karakhanidy v Maverannagr," *Trudy VOIRAO*, 17 (1874), 202, 236-241. Pritsak writes: "Über die west-karachanid. Gross-Kagan al-Ḥidr ibn Ibrāhīm (472-473/1080-1081) und Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥidr (473-482/1081-1089), s. Pritsak, 'Karachaniden,' *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 47-48.

136. On Jūbār see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 104.

137. Kashkatha (B: Kmkshān; C, D, E, F: Kthkthān): This has been interpreted as "kushk-kushans," i.e.—Kushans living in kiosks or villas, (merchants) by K. Inostrantsev, "K istorii do-musulmanskoi kultury Srednei Azii," *ZVOIRAO*, 24 (1916), 142. W. Tomaschek, "Central-asiatische Studien" *SWAW*, 87 (1877), 170, interpreted it in much the same way, proposing the existence of Kushan families in Bukhara. Recently this has been adopted and expanded by S. P. Tolstov, "Osnovy Voprosy Drevnei Istorii Srednei Azii," *VDI* (1938), 1, 202. Č. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, 1, 51, interprets the words as meaning a large villa. The reading of the word in the MSS is uncertain, and any attempt to connect it with "Kushan" is highly speculative. The sentence "they



were of foreign origin," probably helped suggest that they were Kushans. There is a like-sounding but not identical Sogdian name  $\gamma\gamma s'č$  in the *Sogdiiskii Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 21.

138. Seven hundred villas: Archaeological surveys of the oasis of Bukhara have confirmed this statement, for there are countless small mounds dotting the plain, which were once villas or castles of the *dihqāns*. The same is true of the plain of Balkh. For references cf. A. Terenozhkin, "Literatura po arkheologii v Uzbekistane," *VDI* (1939), 1 (6), 189-90.

139. On the question of servants and feudalism see S. Tolstov, "Tiranniya Abruya," *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 3 (1938), 26; see also Barthold, *Istoriya kulturnoi Zhizni Turkestana* (Leningrad, 1927), 37-8, on the word *kediver* "householders." The *kediver* were the clients of the lord of the *ked* "castle" or "house." MP *katak*, Sogdian *kty'k*, *kr'k*. Cf. Tolstov, "Osnovy Voprosy Drevnei Istorii Srednei Azii," *VDI* (1938), 1, 188-194.

140. The town of Rāmush had an important fire temple according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 234. Cf. W. Barthold, "Zur Geschichte des persischen Epos," *ZDMG*, 98 (1944), 142-3.

Evidence of the conflict of Buddhism and Zoroastrianism in Transoxiana is furnished by the Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century Hsüan Tsang; cf. S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911), 45. Cf. Barthold, "Der iranische Buddhismus und sein Verhältnis zum Islam," *Pavry Memorial Volume* (Oxford, 1933), 29-31. Cf. Yakubovskii in *Po Sledam Drevnikh Kultur*, 252-5.

141. Several times Sasanian princes fled to Transoxiana, taking refuge with the Hephthalites. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 113-6, describes the canals of Bukhara. Only Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 483-5, need be added. I translate *rūd* here as canal. On p. 486 of Ibn Ḥaukal, 'Āū Khitfar is written Najār Khitfar, and Shapūr kām is Shafīr kām. For identification with contemporary canals see A. Yu. Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya Ekspeditsiya 1934 g.," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 126-7, and the *Bolshoi Sovetskii Atlas Mira*, 2 (Moscow, 1939).

The district of Khitfar/Khutfar is identified with the present Zandani, 40 km. to the north of Bukhara by O. D. Chekovich in *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 33 (1950), 261, note 9. On 'Āū Khitfar compare the place in Samarqand called Ghātfar in Nasafī, *Qandiya*, 10. According to V. A. Shishkin (G)au-Khitfar and other canals were constructed before the conquest of Alexander the Great. Cf. H. Field and K. Price, "Early History of Agriculture in Middle Asia," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 6 (1950), 30.

142. The notice of Vardān Khudāh's strife with Tughshāda is a rare statement that the petty rulers of Transoxiana fought among themselves before the Arab conquests. There must have been many such conflicts, as in mediaeval Europe, but the records have not survived. In the time of Muslim (Salm) ibn Ziyād's raids in Transoxiana, "the kings of Khurāsān gathered at a town of Khwārazm and made an agreement



not to raid one another," according to Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 83. This alliance did not last long.

143. Kharqāna probably is the same as the town on the Kharqān river. Cf. Maqdisī, 265. It is difficult to find satisfactory etymologies for the names of the canals. The twelfth "canal" is the Zarafshān river.

144. A *dang* was one-sixth of a *dīnār* according to the *Frahang-i Pahlavik*, ch. 30, p. 66 of Junker's edition. According to J. C. Tavadia, *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* (Hamburg, 1930), 16, it was one-sixth of a *dirham*, MP *draxm*. It is impossible to determine the value of a *dirham* in Central Asia at this time.

145. On the word *kharāj*, see W. B. Henning, "Arabisch *ḥarāj*," *Orientalia*, 4 (Rome, 1935) 291-3. The taxation of Transoxiana under the Sāmānids is an involved subject. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, 38, Bukhara in the year 211-212/826-7 paid 1,189,200 Ghitrifī *dirhams* in taxes. Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 73, says one million. Maqdisī, 340, says 1,166,897. This was a large sum in comparison with other districts of the Eastern Caliphate. A. Yakubovskii, "Makhmud Gaznevi," in *Ferdousi*, memorial volume, (Leningrad, 1934), 60, lists five different types of land which brought revenue to the Sāmānids: 1.) State property belonging to the ruler. 2.) Land which was divided and measured, and was subject to payment of the *kharāj*. 3.) Land which was free of the land tax (*ḥurr*) but subject to impositions. 4.) The *'ushriya* land, or land of which one-tenth of the produce was paid instead of the *kharāj*. This was land belonging to the *dihqāns*. 5.) *Waqf* land, which in practice meant land belonging to public groups. On the meaning of these cf. "Kharāj" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier* (Genève, 1886), 45-48 (for the *kharāj-muqāsama*, *muqāṭa'a*, and *misāḥa*.) On *'ushr* cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* under *'ushr*, also E. Fagnan, trad. Abou Yousof Ya'koub, *Le Livre de l'Impôt Foncier* (Paris, 1921), 204-213. This is also a good source for all questions of taxation. Taxes were obtained from the *dihqāns* and princes, who based the amount to be paid on the number of individuals under them rather than on the land. Conversion to Islam of their subjects hurt the ruling class of Transoxiana. Cf. G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II et au III siècle de l'hégire* (Paris 1938), 35-6, also F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950).

146. Kanpirak (D: *Kundizak*, "fortress."): Local *Volksetymologie* claims the word is NP *kampir*, i.e. "old woman," also in the Pamir dialects and Eastern Turkish. I have come across the name elsewhere only once, as the name of a pass over the Hindu Kush Mts. Cf. R. Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (London, 1937), 313. Fortunately we have both source material and the results of archaeological surveys and excavations to give a picture of the immense system of fortifications which protected the oasis of Bukhara from the invasions of nomads. The following sources mention the wall, although with little description: *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans. 112-3; Iṣṭakhri, 305, 313, who mentions the villages which are inside and outside the walls; Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 489. Mas'ūdī,



*Kitāb al-tanbih* (BGA 8), 65, trans. by Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1896), 96, says the wall was built in ancient times by a king of Sughd to protect the country against the invasions of the Turkish nomads. Abu'l 'Abbās al-Ṭūsī ruined (*sic*) them and Maḥdī rebuilt them. (Ṭūsī built the long walls of Bukhara, according to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 112.) The walls extended for a length of 250 or more km. according to V. A. Shishkin, *Goroda Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1943), 7. At present they are preserved only on the eastern side of the oasis, from the village of Khazara to Dergiz, and a short distance on the south of the oasis. Cf. Shishkin, *Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Bukhary* (Tashkent, 1936), 10. Local legend attributes their construction to Abū Muslim. The walls define the extent of irrigation by the city canals. Bartold, *K Istorii Orosheniya Turkestana* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 107-8, says they were destroyed by decree of the Sāmānid governments as a result of the rebellious temper of the citizens of Bukhara, after which time the walls lost their significance. They were rebuilt, but no remains date later than the tenth century. For an account of the archaeological work, and references to the earlier excavations of Vyatkin in 1903, and Zimin in 1915, cf. A. Yu. Yakubovskii, "Arkheologicheskaya Ekspeditsiya v Zarafshanskuyu Dolinu 1934 g.," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 113-163, with photos of the walls, plates I-V, 136. Archaeological work corroborates Narshakhī, for the walls seem to have been abandoned in the tenth century, (*ibid.*, 147).

147. Abu'l 'Abbās Ṭūsī: The amīr 783-7; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203, and the indices of Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr under Faḍl ibn Sulaimān al-Ṭūsī for many entries.

148. Yazīd ibn Ghūrak: Probably the son of the Ghūrak, king of Sughd mentioned in Ṭabarī, 2, 1244, and Chavannes, *Documents*, 204. A similar, but not identical, name is Ḡwr'kk son of Npt'yr in Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, P-8, 168, 191. Perhaps compare Sogd. ṛwr'kh "pride." A. A. Freiman, "K imeni Sogdiiskogo Ikhshida Gureka," *VDI*, 1, 3 (1938), 148, explains the name as "powerful," comparing OP \*uraka (*sic*).

149. A woman was ruler: This is probably a confusion with Khātūn, ruler of Bukhara. No source speaks of a woman ruler of Samarqand, although a queen may have exercised power for some time. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests*, 18, discusses the chronological inconsistencies of the "Khātūn legend."

150. Samarqand had an immense wall surrounding it; Ya'qūbi, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 74. The Samarqand area also had a large wall like the Kanpirak of Bukhara. It was built in the 8th century and extended for 42 km. The remains are now called Divār-i Kiyāmat, according to V. Shishkin, *Goroda Uzbekistana*, (Tashkent, 1943), 8.

151. Muḥtadī ibn Ḥamād al-Dhahlī belonged to a prominent family of Bukhara, which provided several amīrs of the city; cf. Sam'ānī, 241 b. (B: Maḥdī; E: Maḥdī ibn Jumādī, *sic*).

151a. Labor force: The word is ḥashar "corvée, forced labor," here forced laborers; cf. A. Lambton, 429.



152. Inner wall, Arabic *rabaḍ*, usually "suburbs," here "wall" to protect the suburbs, part of the defense system of Bukhara. See the plan of Bukhara in N. Khanykov, *Opisanie Bukharskago Khanstva* (St. Petersburg, 1840).

153. Aḥmad ibn (abī) Khālid: He was a friend of the Ṭāhirids, and led an army to the conquest of Ushrūsana; Ṭabarī, 3, 1042, 1066. Ma'mūn sent him to Transoxiana and the campaign against Ushrūsana occurred in 207/822-3.

154. 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭalḥa is an error, for Ṭalḥa was the brother of 'Abdallāh. The walls were finished by Ṭāhir II ibn 'Abdallāh in 849-50, according to A. Yakubovskii, "Vremya Avitsenny," *IAN* (1938), 96. This is probably correct, for Narshakhī is in error when he refers to Muḥ. ibn 'Abdallāh. No other sources have been found to date the building of the wall precisely. In G. Krist, *Alone Through the Forbidden Land* (New York, 1938), 195-6, the author says "Two hundred and fifteen years after the hijra 'Abd al-'Abbās built the city wall which is standing to this day." No source is given, nor can this be confirmed by Ṭabarī or Ibn al-Athīr. It may be local tradition.

155. Mas'ūd Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān: This is the patron of the Kātib Samarqandī, author of the *Sindbād Nāme*; cf. A. Ateş, *Sindbād-Nāme* (Istanbul, 1948), 65. Pritsak writes: "Über den west-Karachanid. Gross-Kagan Mas'ūd II ibn Ḥasan (556-74/1160-78) der in den Quellen gewöhnlich mit seinen Titel 'Qiliğ Tamgač xan' erscheint, s. Pritsak, "Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 55.

156. For notes on this chapter see Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (New York, 1949), 41-9, and "Remarks on Central Asian History," in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (forthcoming). On the identification of the Ghitrifī *dirhams* with the pre-Islamic type coins of Bukhara with Arabic legends, cf. O. I. Smirnova, "Materialy k svodnomu katalogu sogdiiskikh monet," *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 6 (1952), 18.

157. 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād: His invasion of Transoxiana is discussed by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923), 18-19. Ṭabarī, 2, 169-70, says he was the first Arab leader to cross the Oxus with an army. He conquered Rāmitīn, Nasaf, and Baikand, and defeated the Turkish king with his wife Qbb Khātūn in the year 54/674. Ibn al-Athīr, 3, 414, gives a similar account. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2, 281, says this Khātūn was the queen of Bukhara. Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, 410, says peace was made for a million *dirhams*. Yāqūt, 1, 520, has an account of the conquest of Bukhara and gives the size of the Arab army as 40,000.

Narshakhī's story is, on the whole, corroborated but on the inconsistencies of his account, cf. Gibb, *op. cit.*, 18. For further references cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica* (Paris, 1912), 1, 597 (year 54), 615 (year 56). For references on the life of 'Ubaidallāh, cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, 792 (year 67).

158. Stocking: Ṭabarī, 2, 170, mentions the stocking left behind which the Muslims found.



159. The Bukharan hostages are also mentioned by Balādhurī, 410, and Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.* Yāqūt, 1, 522, says, "al-Bukhāriya is the name of a street in Baṣra where 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād settled the people of Bukhara whom he brought with him."

160. The account of Sa'id ibn 'Uthmān's invasion is told by Balādhurī, 411, with almost the same words as Narshakhī. Ṭabarī, 2, 179, does not mention Bukhara or Khātūn. The expedition to Samarqand is discussed by Gibb, *op. cit.*, 20, and Balādhurī, 411. Yāqūt, 1, 520, adds little to the story, but is precise in his account. The stories of Khātūn's trick and greeting of the chiefs of the Arab army are not found elsewhere. For many references, cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 615 (year 56).

161. 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim: A chief of the tribe of Qais, who ruled Khurāsān independently after the death of the caliph, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya. He had been appointed governor of Khurāsān by the latter; cf. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2, 304. After him, his son maintained an independent existence at Tirmidh on the Oxus river, and carried out raids on all sides, so many volunteers flocked to him. His father 'Abdallāh was killed in 72/692. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 833; further L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 853 (year 72). The best account of the deeds of 'Abdallāh and his son Mūsā is found in Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 402-9. See also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 184, who refers to Ṭabarī. Balādhurī, 414-5, gives a concise account of 'Abdallāh's struggles against rival claimants for the governorship of Khurāsān. On the struggle between 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim and the banū Tamīn, cf., for references, L. Caetani, *op. cit.*, 2, 730 (year 64), and 749 (year 65), and the *Ta'rikh-i Nishāpūr* of Naisabūrī, 60a, 61a.

162. C has *niyā'*, "crudity," for *binā'*. Lykoshin translates the final phrase, "what could God add to thy qualities?"

163. I have not found this story elsewhere. On the medicinal properties of dates, according to the Persians, cf. Abdul Chalig Achundow, *Die Pharmakologischen Grundsätze* (Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi), Band 3 (1893) der Historische Studien aus dem pharmakologischen Institute der Kaisl. Univ. Dorpat (Halle, 1893), 36-7.

164. Qutham ibn 'Abbās: D, 3b, mentions him as one of the companions of the prophet who visited Bukhara. Balādhurī, 412, tells the same story as Narshakhī, only he adds that Qutham wanted a portion for his horse as well. *Ibn Saad Biographien*, ed. E. Sachau (Leiden, 1918), 7 (2), 101, says he died in Samarqand, as does *Ibn Hajar's Biographical Dictionary of the Persons who knew Muhammad*, ed. Maulavi Abdul Hai, (Calcutta, 1888), 3, 450-1, no. 1197. This work gives a long account of him. The Tajik text *Samariya*, ed. N. I. Veselovskii, 11, (Tehran, 10), says of a certain spring, called Āb-i Mashhad, "That spring is called a shrine because Qutham ibn 'Abbās became a martyr on the bank of it and was buried there." The spring is two miles from the city (Samarqand). On p. 21 the text (Tehran, 18) says the tomb is beside the gate of Ahnīn. On p. 48 the text (Tehran, 36) says that Qutham converted the people of Samarqand but they apostatized and Qutaiba had to do it again. Ibn Baṭṭutā mentions the tomb. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels*



of *Ibn Battūta* (New York, 1929), 174. The tomb is today known as Shāh Zinda; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 91. Nasafī, *Qandiya*, 47, calls him a general of Shāh Zinda. For further references cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 620 (year 56).

165. B adds: "People heard of this and the amir of the city mounted and came to the door of Sa'id's house. It was locked. A hole was made in the wall and they found Sa'id and everyone dead." The story of the hostages is told briefly by Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ*, 412, and his *Ansāb*, part 5, 117-119, who says they were Sogdians; so also Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, 101. The *Kitāb al-aghānī* of al-Isfahānī (Bulak, 1868), 1, 18; (Cairo, 1927), 1, 35, gives a poem and tells how he was killed. According to the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Sa'id was with friends, who were presumably also killed. The Persian translation of A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ* (Bombay, 1301/1883), 336, is much like Narshakhī: "When Sa'id came to Bukhara he descended at the gate. The ruler of Bukhara at that time was a woman called Khutak Khātūn. Her husband had been ruler of that city, but had died, and she ruled in his place. . . . Sa'id made peace for 300,000 *dirhams*, and on condition that Khutak Khātūn keep the road to Samarqand open for him and give him a guide for the road. Sa'id settled on the amount for the peace and took twenty princes of Bukhara as hostages . . ." p. 337. When he returned to Bukhara the queen asked for the hostages, but Sa'id refused and crossed the Oxus river (Jūy-i Balkh) and came to Merv. . . . When he arrived in Medina they (the hostages) killed him there and fled to the mountains where they died of hunger and thirst.

166. Muslim ibn Ziyād: In the Arabic histories he is called Salm. Balādhurī, 413, tells of his struggle with the Sogdians under Bandūn (Bīdūn), but nothing of Bukhara and Khātūn. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, 21, proposes a merger of revolting Bukharans and Sogdians as the enemies of Muslim (Salm). Ṭabarī, 2, 392-394, has little to say, but Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2, 300, says, "Salm went to Khwārazm and conquered it; then he went to Bukhara. Its queen was Khātūn, and when she saw the size of his group, she was struck with fear. She wrote to Ṭarkhūn, king of Sughd (saying), 'I will marry you, so come to me and rule Bukhara.' He came with 120,000 (troops). Salm sent Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra as a vanguard for himself, when the news of the arrival of Ṭarkhūn reached him. (Then) he (Muhallab) left and the men followed him. When they came to the army of Ṭarkhūn, his band marched against them. The fighting was desperate, and the Muslims pelted them with arrows. Ṭarkhūn was killed and his followers were put to flight." This, on the whole, agrees with Narshakhī. Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 83, places the action in Khwārazm: "Then when the Muslims retired, the kings of Khurāsān assembled in a town next to Khwārazm. They agreed not to wage war on one another, and they consulted about their affairs. Then the Muslims wanted their amirs to raid that city, but they (the amirs) refused. When Salm advanced and raided he did so in winter. He pressed Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra and asked him to go as a scout to that city. He did this with 6,000, or some say 4,000. Then he encom-



passed them (the infidels) and they sought peace on (condition) that they would ransom themselves. He accepted and made peace." See also Ṭabarī, 2, 394.

Salm's wife was the first Arab woman to cross the Oxus, and she bore him a son in Samarqand who was called al-Sughdī, acc. to Ṭabarī, 2, 395, and Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 83. This was in 61/680-1. For references to the life of Salm cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 873 (year 73). On his campaigns in Transoxiana, *ibid.*, 681 (year 61), and 700 (year 62).

167. There is some confusion between Bīdūn and Ṭarkhūn, ruler of Sughd. Pritsak believes the story here is concerned with Bīdūn, ruler of Bukhara; cf. his forthcoming article "Buḥārā Hudāh." On Ṭarkhūn see Frye, "Tarḫūn-Türxūn and Central Asian History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 (1951), 124-5. In Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, text 101, the kings of Kish are said to carry the title *nīdūn*, while the rulers of Shāsh were called *tdn*. Compare the Turkish title *tudun*.

168. Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra: See *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. M. De Slane (Paris, 1868), 3, 510. He lost an eye at the conquest of Samarqand by Sa'īd. He was the hero of the war against the Kharijites in Iraq; cf. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 986 (year 82), also *Ibn Hajar's Biographical Dictionary*, 3, 1101-3, no. 8143, and *Ibn Saad Biographien*, 7 (1), 94. He died in the village of Zāghūl near Merv al-Rūdh in 82/702, according to Sam'ānī, 267 a.

169. Khotan: So A and C. This is omitted in B, D, E. Is Muhallab to be read?

170. 'Abdallāh ibn Khūdān: To be read Hūdḥān; the dot is probably misplaced in most of the MSS of Narshakhī. He was one of the leaders of the tribe of Azd in Khurāsān, and participated in the quarrels and tribal warfare. Ṭabarī, 2, 1291 and Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 9 and 122, give little information about him. On the tribal warfare in Khurāsān cf. J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902), 247-306, (Chapter on *die arabischen Stämme in Churāsān*), L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 749 (year 65).

171. Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf is the famous governor of Iraq who is frequently used as a model of tyranny by later Muslim authors. On his life and works, and further references, cf. J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjād ibn Yousof* (Paris, 1904), esp. 214-252.

172. In 705 Qutaiba marched against Bukhara and took it. No details are given of the siege of Baikand in the standard histories. Ya'qūbī, 2, 342, mentions an Abū Shūkr as Bukhār Khudāh (the only other reference to this person I found is in Ṭabarī, 2, 1447). In 104/722-3 Sulaimān ibn Abī 'l-Sarī went to Sughd with Shūkr ibn Khnk (or Ḥmīk). He may have been the son of the Khnk Khudāh mentioned by Narshakhī, (note 89), and possibly is Ṭughshāda. In 89/707-8 when Qutaiba raided Bukhara, Vardān Khudāh was its ruler; cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 1199, and also Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1052 (year 87). (Pritsak writes he has found more evidence that Vardān and Khnk Khudāh are identical, which was first proposed by Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, 63.)



173. Warqā' ibn Naṣr Bāhili: According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2, 342, Qutaiba made him his lieutenant over Bukhara and ordered him to collect (the ransom) for the peace. Warqā' was not killed by the man of Baikand (Gibb, *The Arab Conquests*, 33, doubted the story of Narshakhī), for the former appears later in the time of the weak governor Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (called Khudhaina, a Sogdian form of "queen"; cf. note 38) in 102/720-1. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 1292, 1420, and Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 68.

174. Khunbūn: A village four parasangs from Bukhara, on the Khurāsān road (Yāqūt, 2, 474). Sam'ānī, 208 b-209 a, lists the learned men connected with this village and a few items about them.

175. The people had gone to (*Chin*) China (?): Iṣṭakhrī, 4, line 9, mentions a Chinese domination of Transoxiana before the Muslim conquest. Trade with the Far East certainly existed in this period. (Chinese cloth, found in a house excavated in Begram, Afghanistan, testifies to trade with the Far East under the Kushans. In the same site Indian ivories and Greek statuettes were found, now preserved in the Begram room of the Kabul museum). In addition to the Sogdian and Arabic fragments found at Mug Mt., in the Tajik SSR in 1933, there also were Chinese fragments. One was an official rescript sent by the central government of China (beginning of the T'ang dynasty) to an outpost garrison, according to P. I. Osipov, "Neketorye Zamechaniya k Kitaiskoi rukopisi naidennoi v 1933 g v Srednei Azii," *ZIV*, 5 (1935), 185-203, esp. 185, 191.

At Qutaiba's conquest of Baikand in 87/706 five thousand pieces of Chinese silk are mentioned in the negotiations for peace, in Ṭabarī, 2, 1188. Later in 104/722-3 the strong governor, Sa'id ibn 'Amr al-Ḥarashī, spared four hundred merchants who had come from China with many wares, in his massacre of the Sogdian nobles and rebels who had fled to Ferghāna to escape the Arabs (Ṭabarī, 2, 1445). See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 189, for circumstances of the flight.

The existence of Sogdian colonies in Chinese Turkestan is amply attested by Sogdian MSS remains, as well as Chinese sources. Cf. P. Pelliot, "Le 'Cha tcheou tou fou t'ou king' et la colonie sogdienne de la région du Lob Nor," *JA* (1916), 111-123; also W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), 601-615, and E. G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia," *TP*, 41 (1953), 317-356.

176. Pearls: Al-Bīrunī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir*, 157, says: "They say that when Qutaiba ibn Muslim conquered the fortress of Baikand near Bukhara he found two pearls in a fire temple. The temple-servants related that two birds alighted on the roof of the fire temple, one after the other. Then they dropped on it and left the two pearls. Qutaiba sent them to Ḥajjāj and wrote about them. Then Ḥajjāj answered him, 'I knew what you described. The pearls are astonishing as well as the two birds, but the most astonishing is your renowned munificence, oh Abū Ḥafṣ!' " The *Ta'rikh Samarqand*, foll. 12 b, tells of the letter without the pearls.

177. Tārāb was a village to the west of Bukhara; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 115, note 9.

178. Kūr Maghānūn (D: Kūz Maghānūn): Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2, 342,



calls him Kur Ma'ānūn al-Nwfsī (Perhaps to be corrected to al-Tūfatī or Tūbatī "Tibetan?"). Ṭabarī, 2, 1195, calls him Kūr Baghānūn al-Turkī, son of the sister of the emperor of China. Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 422, has two readings, Kūr Na'ānūn and Kūr Khānūn. Ṭabarī, 2, 1602, mentions the same person as a chief of the Turks in 119/737. Zotenberg's translation of the Persian translation of Ṭabarī, 4, 162, has Kourenghâboun. Marquart in "Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften," *WZKM*, 12 (1898), 182, reconstructed the name as Kül bayatun, a Türgesh. The form *bayatur* was explained as a collective in -r of \**bayatun* by O. Pritsak in *Der Islam*, 29 (1949), 101-2. He says Narshakhī's title may be read \**kūr bayatun* or \**kūr mayatun*. But he writes (10 April '53): "In meinen Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der alt.-Völker habe ich *baghānūn* als *bayadun* gedeutet, eine ältere Form als *bayadur* (ohne Kollektiv-Suffix -r.)." Differently Henning *apud* K. Menges, "The Proto-Bulgar Inscriptions," (in press).

179. Chinese emperor: The well-known *baghpūr* or *faghfūr*. It appears in the Sogdian ancient letter which probably dates from 313 A.D., according to W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), 603. H. H. Schaeder, "Eine Verkannte aramäische Präposition," *OLZ*, 41 (1938), 598, proposed that the word was a Yüeh-chih original, since *pūr* is neither Parthian nor Sogdian, but cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, 10 (1940), 94. The Parthian form had two meanings, according to W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS*, 11 (1943), 53, note 2, "angels," and Skrt. *devaputra*, Chinese *T'ien-tzū*. The attempt of G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala, 1938), 155-7, 162, to connect the title to the Mithra cult, is not convincing.

180. Haiyān al-Nabaṭī (B: Hnān): The story of the peace-making with Ṭarkhūn is also told by Ṭabarī, 2, 1204, and Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 430, (year 90/708-9). There is conflicting information about him. Ṭabarī, 2, 1430, says he was the *maulā* (client) of Maṣqala ibn Hubaira al-Shaibānī, (also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 423, and *Ibn al-Athīr*, 5, 9). Sam'ānī 552 b, says his son was a *maulā* of Bakr ibn Wā'il ibn Rabī'a, or Tamīm, or the banī Shaibān. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 107, says (his source is probably Narshakhī) that Haiyān was the *maulā* of Muqātil ibn Sulaimān al-Quraishī. Sam'ānī adds that he was nicknamed Haiyān al-Nabaṭī because he came from 'Irāq! He adds that he lived in Balkh. But Ṭabarī, 2, 1291, says he was from Dailam and was called Nabaṭī because of his imperfect pronunciation of Arabic. Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 9, also says he was from Dailam, but adds that others say he was from Khurāsān. Ibn Isfandiyār's *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, 163, says he was a Dailamite, and Balādhurī, 337, says he had been a Dailamite prisoner with the Arabs. It seems he was an Iranian and not an Arab, as Barthold, *Turkestan*, 107, proposed.

In 96/714-5 he was in charge of 7,000 clients (Ṭabarī, 2, 1291). Later he was in Khwārazm supporting the Muslims. (Ibn al-Athīr, 4, 456.) When Yazīd ibn Muhallab raided Jurjān in 98/716 Haiyān was with him. His son Muqātil is also mentioned, (Ṭabarī, 2, 1329-30; Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 21-2; Sam'ānī 552 b, and *Tārīkh Samarqand*, folio 5 a). He deserted Qutaiba, when the latter was killed in Ferghāna. (Ya'qūbī, 2, 355). He was with Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (cf. note 173) on his expedition against



Sughd in 102/720-1. (Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 72.) He died on that expedition, perhaps poisoned, for Sūra ibn al-Hurr spoke against him to Yazīd. (Ṭabarī, 2, 431; Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 73-4.) For references on *maulā*, cf. Spuler, 435, note 8.

181. The conquest of Bukhara: The question of the reliability of the Bāhili (Qutaiba's tribe) tradition as preserved in Ṭabarī has been questioned by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests*, 13. Much of the local history is legendary, or deliberately falsified. Cf. Barthold "Die persische Šu'ūbija," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 26 (1912), 265.

Qutaiba conquered and reconquered Bukhara several times. For references to these expeditions cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 1052 (year 87), and 1063 (year 88), 1074 (year 89), and 1085 (year 90). Cf. also Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Kuteybe bin Müslim'in Hvârizm ve Semerkand'i Zabtı," *Revue de la Faculté de Langues, d'Histoire et de Géographie*, 6 (1948), 385-430.

182. Half of their homes to the Arabs: This followed the procedure in Merv, according to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 2, 193. Cf. Ṭabarī, 1, 2886. On the Arab conquest and settlement, cf. L. Caetani, *Annali dell 'Islam* (Milan, 1914), 7, 282, and 300-1, for a bibliography. The Muslims had to contend with Buddhists according to Spuler, 139.

183. The language of Bukhara: A search through the older Persian dictionaries might reveal interesting items about the language of the Bukhara area, which probably was a dialect of Sogdian. Cf. V. Bartold, "K voprosu o Yazikakh Sogdiiskom i Tokharskom," *Iran*, 1, (1926), 29. Maqdisī, 335, says there is a repetition in the language of Bukhara. . . . They use the *darri* (*sic dari*) language, so-called because one writes official letters in it (to the sultan). It is derived from *dar* "door." The language of Sughd resembles the tongues of the villages of Bukhara. Iṣṭakhri, 314, says that the language of Bukhara is the same as that of Sughd except for some alterations.

The remark that the people of Bukhara used *dari*, refers to the townspeople, not to the villagers who presumably spoke Sogdian dialects. H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (Oxford, 1943), 174, note 3, suggests that *dari* was the language of the courtier-priests of the Sasanid period.

184. First words, D: *bknýtā nkyntā*; second, B: *mkūnyā mkūnī*. In a letter dated 31 January 1946, Professor W. B. Henning says: "The first group should be pointed *nknby' nkynt* 'bow' (pl.) 'a bow,' the first word being an abstract noun *nikambyā* from the Sogdian stem *nikamb-*; in Buddhist Sogdian orthography the abstract would be spelt *nk'npy'kh*, but pronounced *nikambyā*. The second word, from the same Sogdian stem, is the 2nd pl. of the imperative, in Buddh. Sogd. orthography *nk'ynpt*, pronounced *nikēmbt*. The first group is therefore simply Sogdian. The second group, evidently made up in the same way as the first, is more difficult. It clearly belongs to Persian *nigūn(sār)*, Pahlavi *nikūn* "downwards," but this stem, as far as I know offhand, does not seem to occur in Sogdian where the related word *ptk'wn* (*patkūn*) is used instead. On the one hand, we must take into account the tendency



of the Persian scribes to introduce forms similar to their own language, on the other hand we should be hasty if we changed the text to comply with standard Sogdian as the language of Bukhara may have differed from it considerably. At any rate, the first word is an abstract in *-ya* (as *nikambyā*), hence presumably *nikūnyā*. The second word should be a 2nd pl. imp., but such a form can hardly be expected of an adverbial stem like *nikun* and should have one of the endings *t* or *ta* or *θ*, *θa* (these being the attested endings of the 2nd pl. imp. in the various Sogdian dialects). In order to get a suitable form, we thus should have to change the text more than may seem advisable. *Non liquet.*" Later I found F. Rozenberg, "Sogdica," *Prace Lingwistyczne ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Courtenay 1868-1921* (Cracow, 1921), 96, who says somewhat the same: the first group *nk'npt' nk'np* in Sogdian the imper. pl. present theme of *nk'np* "to lower," Greek Κάμπτω, Latin *cumbere*, and the second *nkwn't' nkwn* from the verb *\*nkwn* "to prostrate."

185. Doors with figures on them: The decoration of doors with figures seems to have been widespread in Transoxiana, for ossuaries and model clay bas-reliefs of doors, with figures on them, have been found in situ in Sughd. Cf. A. A. Potapov, "Relefy drevnei Sogdiany," *VDI* (1938), 1 (2), 131. On doors in Central Asia, cf. F. R. Martin, *Thüren aus Turkestan* (Stockholm, 1897) (unavailable): reviewed by K. Inostrantsev in *ZVOIRAO*, 14 (1902), 061. On wood carvings from this region cf. V. L. Voronina, "Reznoe derevo Zarafshanskoi doliny," in *Trudy Sogdiisko-Tadzhikskoi Arkheologicheskoi Ekspeditsii*, *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, 15 (1950), 210-20.

185a. Cf. Spuler, 140.

186. Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd Barmakī: The account of his appointment and journey to Khurāsān is told by Ṭabarī, 3, 631-4. For stories about Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā, cf. index to M. Nizāmu'd-dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi' u'l-Hikāyat* of 'Aufī (London, 1929). For further references see G. Wiet, trans., *Ya'kūbi, Les Pays*, (Cairo, 1937), 102, note 14. On the origin of the name Barmak from Skrt. *pramukha* "chief," cf. H. W. Bailey, "Iranica," *BSOAS*, 11 (1943), 2. See also L. Bouvat, "Les Barmecides," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 20 (1912), 123. According to Ibn al-Faqīh (*BGA* 5), 323-4, the Barmakids were prominent people in Balkh from earliest times. They were idol-worshippers and built (the shrine) of Naubahār and decorated it. According to the *Rauḍat al-jannāt fī tārikh al-Harāt* of Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Isfizārī, Univ. of Istanbul MS, F 698, 27a, the Naubahār was the *waqf* of the Barmakids. In the days of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Barmak, with his sons, went to him, accepted Islam, and was named 'Abdallāh. Nizak Ṭarkhān killed him (because of this) and his sons fled. There are several romantic histories of the Barmecides, such as the *Tārikh-i Barāmika*.

187. Abū—the judge: Text is defective. Perhaps Abu'l Qāḍī is meant but this is doubtful.

188. Jaihānī: He is Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. Gardizī, ed. Muḥ. Nāẓim (Berlin, 1927), 25-6 (also in Bartold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., teksty, 6), says he wrote books on many subjects. When he became



minister he wrote letters everywhere for information, and they existed for the use of people in the court of Bukhara. A story is told by 'Aufi that the reason for the decline of the Sāmānids was because of Jaihānī's dismissal. Cf. Bartold, *Turkestan* (Russian ed.) teksty, 91. The *Introduction to the Jawāmi' u'l-Hikāyāt*, 213, doesn't mention the name of the vezir. Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 6, 293-4, and Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 59.

189. Tamghāj: P. Pelliot, "L'origine du nom de 'Chine'," *TP*, 13 (1912), 731, discusses the word (more correctly *tabghāj*). The latter form is found in the account of a Turkish embassy to Byzantium as the word for China. Pelliot derives it from the T'o-pa dynasty which ruled North China 386-556 A.D. H. H. Schaeder, "Iranica," *AGAW*, Dritte Folge, Nr. 10 (1934), 44-8, traced its transmission through the Sogdians. Cf. also his "Türkische Namen der Iranier," *Die Welt des Islams, Sonderband* (Berlin, 1941), 13, and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Kitāb dīwān lughāt al-turk*, 1, 378 (Turkish trans., 1, 453-4).

190. Saifas (D: Safil): According to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 314, note 5, this should be read Shu'ayth (Pritsak reads Shu'aib), a brother of Shams al-Mulk, who revolted against him. The battle took place shortly before 400/1068; cf. Pritsak, *Karachaniden*. Lykoshin, 66, merely says Saifas is a Turkish name. Pritsak in *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 46, reads the name Sifes. This section is confused.

191. minaret: A. Burnes, *Travels in Bokhara* (London, 1835), 2, 258, speaks of a lofty minaret built in 542/1147, from which criminals were thrown to their death. The *Kitāb-i mullāzāde* (on this cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 58), as quoted in Bartold, *Turkestan* (Russian ed.) teksty, 172, says Arslān Khān built a minaret in 521/1127. According to V. Shishkin, *Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Bukhary*, (Tashkent, 1936), 35-7, from the Qarākhānid period, there are preserved the southern portal of the mosque of "Magoki-attar," the western wall of the *namāzgāh* (place of holiday prayer), and the minaret of the large grand mosque. The minaret is made of baked bricks, and covered with an alabaster compound. At the top is a band telling it was built by Arslān Muḥammad Khān. It is 46.5 meters high.

192. place of prayer: According to Shishkin, *op. cit.*, 38, note 1, "In addition to the usual mosque where the prayers are performed five times a day there is also the Friday (general) mosque where prayers are offered once a week at noon. Then there is the *muṣallā* or *namāzgāh* where prayers are offered twice a year on 'id-i Fiṭr and Qurbān, early in the morning." All large towns in Central Asia have them. The one at Herat is famous in Islamic art history. In Shādyākh, suburb of Nishāpūr, was a famous one according to Naisābūrī, *Tārīkh*, foll. 71a.

193. Muslims were not safe from infidels: Islam was slow in its conquest of Transoxiana, and non-Muslims were numerous for a long time in Bukhara. As late as 197/812, Ka'b ibn Sa'īd 'Āmirī, a learned man, was killed by infidels in Bukhara, and was known thereafter as a martyr. Cf. *Kitāb-i mullāzāde* in Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl va ash'ār-i Rūdakī*, 1, 445, (Bukhara ed., 1904), 21-2.

194. Namāzgāh of Arslān Khān: The site is at present located half of



a kilometer south of the city of Bukhara in a garden area. It has not been investigated and much may be uncovered in it according to Shishkin, *op. cit.*, 39-42, photo p. 41. Shams al-Mulk is buried in a *ribāṭ* near this place, according to the *Kitāb-i mullāzāde*, in Barthold, *Turkestan* (Russian ed.) teksty, 168, Bukhara ed., 39-40. Činggis Qan came here while in Bukhara, and had the people assemble there for orders. See Mirzā Muḥ. ed., *Tārikh-i jahān gushā* of Juvainī (London, 1912), 81.

195. Gate of Nūn: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 102, 106, calls this the *nau* "new" gate. Ibn Hauqal, ed. Kramers, 483, calls it *Nūr*. Maqdisī, 280, and Yāqūt, 4, 822, have *Nūr*. It is also called *nau* by Narshakhī, in other places.

Rabī'a and Muḍar were North Arabian tribes; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, supplement, under Rabī'a.

196. Christian church: This is not unexpected for Samarqand was an important Nestorian center. Cf. A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, etc. (Manchester, 1925), 29; also in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* of the same year. See also Barthold's book on Christianity in Central Asia, *Der Islam*, 21 (1933), 237, for references to Russian, German, and Turkish editions.

197. Wazir ibn Aiyūb: No references to him have been found, and several individuals called Aiyūb ibn Ḥasan are different people. On the districts and streets of Bukhara, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 102-7.

198. Khīna: No information has been found about him, or his name. The word *kadre* may be a local form of NP *kediver* "farmer." On the title *amir* see Markwart, "Das erste Kapitel der Gāthā uštavati," *Orientalia*, 50 (Rome, 1930), 47, note 2, also O. Hansen, "Tocharisch-iranische Beziehungen," *ZDMG*, 94 (1940), 158-9.

199. Sughdī (B and D: Sa'dī): On the Sogdian forms of the name see W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* (London, 1940), 9, where further references are given. The present-day Yaghnōbi forms may be found in H. F. J. Junker, *Arische Forschungen. Yaghnōbi Studien I* (Leipzig, 1930), 44, note, and in S. I. Klimchitskii, "Yagnobtsy i ix Yazyk," *Trudy Tadzhikistanskoi Bazy*, 9 (1940), 138.

200. Ḥasan ibn Ṭāhir: No person with this name has been found. It is probably intended for 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir who actually did not begin his rule in Khurāsān till 214/829-30. See Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār* (Berlin, 1927), 6-9. There is a Ḥusain ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir, who was governor of Herat for Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir. He was captured by 'Amr ibn Laith. See 'Abbās Īqbāl, *Tārikh-i Īrān*, 192.

201. Faghsādra (B: Faghādra): The first part is probably *fagh* "idol," as in *farfūr*/*βarypūr*. There was a town of Faghkath in Ushrūsana province; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 167. Yāqūt, *Mu'jām*, gives many villages of Bukhara with the prefix *fagh*-. There is an extensive literature on *βarypūr*; cf. note 179. According to P. Horn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I (2), 78, the form *fagh*, with *f*, is peculiar to Ferghāna.

202. Sūbāsh Tekin (A, B, D: Sūnāsh; B: Sūnās): Orkhon Turkish *Sūbaši* "army leader, prince." The words are explained by Khwārazmī,



*Mafātih al-'ulūm*, ed. G. Van Vloten (Leiden, 1895), 120, as leader of the army and prince. Cf. A. Zeki Validi, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, 141. On *tigin/tekin* cf. Maḥmūd, al-Kāshgharī, *Kitāb divān lughāt al-turk*, 1, 346-7, and note 66. He is not to be identified with the general Tekin al-Bukharī, in Ṭabarī, 3, 1917-8.

203. Khwāja Imām Abū Ḥafṣ: According to Qurashī, *Al-jawāhir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīya*, 2, 249, his name was Aḥmad ibn Ja'far, but he is known by his *kunya* Abū Ḥafṣ. He had many followers. Sam'ānī says, under al-Khaizākhuzī, that it is a village of Bukhara with a group of men learned in religious law, companions of Abū Ḥafṣ the great. Sam'ānī, 215 a, under Khairākhurī (read z, as in the Köprülü Library MS) has a defective text. Yāqūt, 2, 506, (Khaizākhuzā), says it is a village five parasangs from Bukhara near Zandana. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, 1, 400, also mentions it.

The story of Abū Ḥafṣ as a blacksmith in *Asrār al-tauhīd fī maqāmāt shaikh Abū Sa'id* (St. Petersburg, 1899), 335-6, may refer to the *imām*. He is merely mentioned in the *Kitāb-i mullāzāde*, Bartold, *Turkestan* (Russian ed.) teksty, 167. One finds his name as Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Zarqān ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-Jarr al-'Ajilī al-Bukharī, who was born in 150/767. Cf. Sa'id Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl va ash'ār-i Rūdakī*, 1, 445. 'Aufī tells several stories about him, but calls him 'Umar ibn Maslama al-Haddād. See also the *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt*, 144. He died about 264/877. Further references to him are given in the same book, 145 top. Cf. also Nasafī, *Qandiya*, 171.

204. Muḥ. ibn al-Ḥusain al-Shaibānī: (the Turkish khān of the Uzbeks is Shībānī, not as the Arab tribal name, Shaibānī). For this famous Ḥanafī writer cf. Brockelmann, SI, 288. He died in 804 near Raiy. Also cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article Shaibānī.

205. Honored teachers: These are the *muta'akhhkhirin* or "contemporary" learned men of Islam, as opposed to the *mutaqaddamin*, "the ancients."

206. Dome of Islam: Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 4, 33. Juvainī, *Tārīkh-i jahān gushā*, 1, 75-6, praises Bukhara as the dome of Islam in the east. The same appellation was given to Herat; cf. Barbier de Meynard, "Extraits de la Chronique persane d'Herat," *JA* (1860), 472.

207. Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Abū Ḥafṣ: He is mentioned by Yāqūt, 2, 923, as the precursor of a scholar called Zarakhshī. Whether he is to be identified with the 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Khaizākhuzī, who was magistrate of Bukhara, is questionable. Cf. *Al-jawāhir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīya* of Qurashī, 1, 280.

208. *Surahs* 2, 3, 4 and 5. "Thunder" is no. 13.

209. The blessing: the "peace be on you," at the conclusion.

210. Muḥammad ibn Ṭālūt: He was with the army of Ṭāhīr ibn Ḥusain, when the latter was at Aḥwāz, Īrān, in 196/811-2, in command of the army of Ma'mūn against Amīn. 'Abbās ibn Bukhār Khudāh was also present. See Ṭabarī, 3, 852, 856; Ibn al-Athīr, 6, 181.

211. Khishwiya (D: Khshūna; B: Khshwāriya): Apparently the same



name occurs later, note 248, as the name of a follower of Muqanna'. I have not found it elsewhere.

212. Muḥammad ibn Salām Baikandī: He is mentioned twice by the *Ta'rikh Samarqand*, foll. 49b, 51a. He was a noted story teller. Cf. Yāqūt, 6, 665 and Sam'ānī, 100 a, for further references.

213. The camel Kaswa, used by Muḥammad in the flight to Medina, was bought from Abū Bakr. On this camel see W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London, 1894), 137, and index.

214. Client-master: This is probably the source of Barthold. There is much confusion here. The relationship of Haiyān to Muqātil and Talḥa is uncertain. See note 180.

215. The grave of Qutaiba: See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 160. I. I. Umnjakov, in his review of E. D. Ross ed. *Ta'rikh-i Fakhru'd Dīn Mubārak-shāh* (London, 1927), in *VDI* (1938), 1, 110, says that the site of the tomb of Khātūn is the tomb of the wife of Qutaiba ibn Muslim. He discusses this briefly, with references. Naisābūrī, in his *Tārikh*, foll. 23a, says 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Hārūn ibn 'Amr ibn Jinān Yazīd al-Qaisī al-Nishāpūrī was known as the killer of Qutaiba.

216. Asad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī was the well-known governor of Khurāsān 105-109/723-727, also 117-120/735-8, under his brother Khālid, who was governor of Iraq and the East 105-120/723-738. For references cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 1515 (year 120). He died in Balkh. On his brother, *ibid.*, 1605 (year 126).

217. Sources for the history of Sāmān are given by Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 281. To this add Gardizī, *Zain al-akhbār* (Berlin, 1928), 19, who traces the genealogy to Adam, and Maqdisī, 338. Some sources say Sāmān was the name of a village near Balkh, others claim it was near Samarqand. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 145, suggests the possibility of a borrowing from the story of the Barmakids. On a suggested origin of the name, see Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, 761. The genealogy of the Sāmānids is given in the *Ta'rikh Samarqand*, folio 64b: Sāmān ibn Jayamthyān ibn Nūshrd (new year?) ibn Sāmṭghān ibn Bahrām (Chūbīn).

218. This account is translated and discussed in G. Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe* (Amsterdam, 1894), 24-5. According to him (note 2), this clarifies the notice of Ṭabarī, 2, 1611, who says that in 119/737 Asad sent Turkish maidens to the *dihqāns* of Khurāsān, in exchange for captured Muslims. Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 152, doesn't mention the sending of maidens. Cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1493-4 (year 119). Bukhara is not mentioned, and the Turks of the *West-Turkish Empire* are meant here, not the people of Transoxiana. So Van Vloten's assumption is to be regarded with some scepticism, according to Barthold, "Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen" in W. Radloff, *Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, (St. Petersburg, 1894), 25.

Sharīk ibn Harīth: Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, 24, has Muqātil Sharīk ibn Harīth. No references to him have been found.

219. Naṣr ibn Saiyār: Head of the Muḍar tribe in Khurāsān, and



governor of that province 738-48. He had been a captain of Qutaiba ibn Muslim and understood the people and country well. He looked after the welfare of the local population and reformed the taxes. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 1688 and 1664; also Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, 71-2. In 123/740-1 he allowed the Sogdians, who had rebelled and fled during the reign of Asad, Naṣr's predecessor, to return to their homeland, and made easy terms with them. (Ṭabarī, 2, 1717.) For further references cf. G. Wiet, trans. *Ya'qūbī, Les Pays*, 127, note 6.

220. D adds: "it is also called Khunbūn of the Magians." The story of the killing of Ṭughshāda is found in Ṭabarī, 2, 1693-4, from whom Narshakhī probably obtained some of his information. (In Ṭabarī the Bukhār Khudāh is called Ṭūq Siyāda.) The only additions Ṭabarī has are: the tax-collector ('*āmil*, not *amir*) of Bukhara was Wāṣil ibn 'Umar al-Qaisī, and the man who killed Bukhār Khudāh was al-Jūzjān ibn al-Jūzjān.

221. Wāṣil ibn 'Amr ('Umar according to Ṭabarī): He participated in the struggles of Ashras ibn 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī and his successor Junaid against the Turks. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2, 1528, year 111/729.

222. Competent doctor: A, B, C, D have *qriḥa*, E: *frnja*. Ṭabarī, 2, 1694, has "Qu'rat, (the bald one?) the doctor, came to him and treated him. He (Ṭughshāda) appointed Naṣr his trustee and died in an hour." Ṭabarī, 2, 1589, says that Qu'rat, the doctor, cut off the tongue of Khidāsh, head of the sect of the Hāshimīya in Āmul in 736, by order of the governor, Asad.

223. Removed his flesh: This passage has attracted much attention. Bartold, "Eshche o Samarkandskikh Ossuariyakh," *ZVOIRAO*, 13, (1900), 0101, says it is an Iranian (Aryan) custom. K. Inostrantsev, "K istorii do-musul'manskoi kultury Srednei Azii," *ZVOIRA*, 24 (1916), 139, draws parallels with Tibetan and Australian customs. Cf. also F. Rosenberg, "O Sogdiitsakh," *ZKV*, 1 (1925), 86, who discusses the use of dogs to clean the bones, and other Zoroastrian burial customs. Cf. K. Inostrantsev, "Ancient Iranian Burial Customs," *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 3 (1923), 22, and C. Trever, *Teracottas from Afrasiab* (Moscow, 1934), 18. On the date of the killing of Ṭughshāda cf. Spuler, 167, note 1, and Pritsak, "Buḥārā Ḥudāh."

224. This indicates the double sovereignty, of Arab amīr and native ruler, which the Muslims instituted in their rule of the eastern part of the caliphate.

225. Sharīk ibn Shaikh al-Mahrī (B, D, E: al-Mahdī): Ya'qūbī, 2, 425, merely mentions the struggle between Sharīk and Ziyād, and Ṭabarī, 3, 74, has little more. Narshakhī gives the most information. Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 344, says he had more than 30,000 supporters.

226. 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Shu'aib: He was a leader of the tribe of Azd, and participated in the tribal warfare in Khurāsān in 126/743-4. See Ṭabarī, 2, 1861-2.

This person is not the same as 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Azdī of note 239 below.



227. Amīr of Khwārazm (B, D, E, F: Ḥazīma): The Khwārazmians were known for their anti-'Abbāsid sentiments, and consequently Mut-'azilitism became popular there. Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, 6, 154, and A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, xxii. On this see also Frye, "The 'Abbāsid Conspiracy and Modern Revolutionary Theory," *Indo-Iranica*, 5 (1952), 13-4.

228. I have been unable to identify or emend *Brzm*.

229. Abū Muslim: Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and the following additions: F. Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte (Kitāb al-ma'ārif)*, 214; De Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, 2, 100-110. There is much information on him in the many books on sects. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 306-52, and R. N. Frye, "The Role of Abū Muslim in the 'Abbāsid Revolt," *The Moslem World*, 37 (1947), 28-38. A detailed study of Abū Muslim is the "Studi su Abū Muslim," by S. Moscati in three parts, *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, 8 (1949), 323-35; 474-95; (1950), 1-17.

230. Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ: A chief of the tribe of Khuzā'a; Ṭabarī, 2, 1988. He was in Kūfa in 132/749 (Ṭabarī, 3, 18). Then he went to Khurāsān and served Abū Muslim. In 135/752 he revolted, and Sibā' ibn Nu'mān al-Azdī, whom the 'Abbāsid al-Saffāḥ had sent to Ziyād to induce him to kill Abū Muslim, was caught at Āmul on the Oxus. The story of his intended treachery towards Abū Muslim came out and the chiefs of Ziyād betrayed him. Ziyād was killed and his head brought to Abū Muslim. (Ṭabarī, 3, 82, and Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 348-9.)

231. Āmūī is the same as Āmul, on the Oxus river. It was an important center under the Sasanids, and probably one of their mint towns according to J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale* (Paris, 1936), 298, no. 17. On the origin of the name cf. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931), 110.

232. Kushmīhan (A and D: Kshmīz; read Kushmīhan): The latter part of the word is NP *mīhan*, Av. *maēθana* "place." It is a well-known town near Āmul; cf. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, 6.

233. The relation of Sulaimān Quraishī (B: Frsī) to Ḥaiyān al-Nabaṭī is uncertain; see note 180. No references to Sulaimān have been found.

234. Qutaiba ibn Ṭughshāda came: Gibb, *The Arab Conquests*, 95, is probably right in ascribing the action of the Bukhār Khudāh as directed against the "popular revolt" of Sharīk. More important, however, is the statement that Arabs were in the city, but not one was outside where the *dihqāns* and the Bukhār Khudāh were. This may indicate that Abū Muslim's pro-Iranian tendency was one of the reasons for the Bukhār Khudāh's joining the former. Soviet scholars have much to say about Sharīk's revolt, e.g. in *Istoriya Narodov Uzbekistana*, 1 (Tashkent, 1950), 184-6.

235. On the color black, and the use of colors by political parties see Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, 64, also al-Kātib Samarqandī, *Kitāb aghrāḍ al-siyāsa fī 'ilm al-riyāsa*, MS, Aya Sofya, 2844, foll.



179b, under Abū Muslim, where black is said to represent dignity and power.

236. There were a series of revolts in Transoxiana against Abū Muslim. In 132/749-50 Abū Dāūd Khālīd ibn Ibrāhīm, one of Abū Muslim's generals, raided Kish (or Kašš) and secured beautiful gold-painted Chinese pottery and Chinese saddles and cloths as booty, which he sent to Abū Muslim in Samarqand. See Ṭabarī, 3, 79, and Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 347, who says the year was 134/751-2. The account continues that after the slaughter among the people of Sughd and Bukhara was over, Abū Muslim returned to Merv. He ordered the building of the wall of Samarqand. He put Ziyād ibn Šālīḥ over the people of Sughd and Bukhara, and Abū Dāūd returned to Balkh.

237. Muqanna': One of the best accounts of his activities is to be found in E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1, 318-23. He gives references to Gardīzī, Bīrūnī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ṭabarī, Qazvīnī's *Athār al-bilād*, and Ibn Khallikān. Narshakhī's account is one of the longest and most detailed. Fortunately, all source material has been noted and classified in the excellent chapter on Muqanna' by G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens* (Paris, 1938), 163-86. He casts doubt on Barthold's (*Turkestan*, 15) identification of Ibrāhīm, author of the "Account of Muqanna'" with al-Šūlī, the poet. One group of sources say Muqanna's name was 'Atā, a second group Ḥākīm, another, including Narshakhī, Ḥāshim ibn Ḥākīm (Sadighi, 167). L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938), 32, note 3, says that the birthplace of Muqanna' was at Kariz, 81 miles northwest of Herat. The *Kitāb al-farq bain al-firaq* of Abū Manṣūr Baghdādī (Cairo, 1910), 243-4, trans. A. S. Halkin, *Moslem Schisms and Sects* (Tel-Aviv, 1935), 75-78, gives a particularly detailed account of Muqanna'. Recently A. Yu. Yakobovskii published a study of Muqanna', "Vosstanie Mukanny," *SV*, 5 (1948), 35-54. Perhaps the best short study of Muqanna', however, is contained in S. Moscati, "Studi storici sul califato di al-Mahdi," *Orientalia*, 14 (1945), 338-44.

238. Kāza: variants are given by Sadighi, 168. Add to this list also Kāza Kamīn dhāt of Baghdādī's *Kitāb al-farq bain al-firaq*, 243. This is probably to be interpreted as a place where hunters laid traps; *kāza* "hut, hidden place," *kamīn* "ambush." Yāqūt (q.v. Kāza) says it is a village near Merv.

239. 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī: He revolted and was killed by order of Manṣūr; cf. Yāqūt, 4, 116, Ya'qūbī (*BGA* 7), 303, and Ṭabarī, 3, 134-6. The Persian Ṭabarī, trans. Zotenberg, 4, 379, says Ma'mūn feared 'Abd al-Jabbār, and sought to divest him of his power by ordering him to send his strong army to aid in the war against the Byzantines. 'Abd al-Jabbār refused on the excuse that the Turks would then invade Khurāsān, for "the army of Khurāsān is supposed to fight the Turks, as that of Iraq the Greeks."

240. Date of Muqanna': There is some disagreement on this. Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 179, discusses it, and comes to the conclusion that the revolt began in 159/775-6 (with which Moscati agrees) and ended in 166/782-3, so Narshakhī's statement of 14 years is too long. Moscati, *op. cit.*, 338,



and Halkin, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, 76, note 3, claim the date of his downfall was 163 A.H. In any case the year of greatest activity seems to have been 162/778-9. Cf. *Mujmal al-tawārikh wa'l qisās*, 334, and Spuler, 198-9.

241. His faith: Maqdisī, 323, says their practices are like those of the *zindiqs* (Manichaeans). Cf. J. Marquart, "Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften," *WZKM*, 12 (1898), 177. In the *Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awwām fī ma'rifat maqālāt al-anām*, written in the 13th cent. by Saiyid Murtaḍā Rāzī, (Tehran, 1313/1935), 179, Muqanna' is said to have been one of the Khurramīs, whose leader was Razzām. They do not recognize pilgrimages, fasts, or the giving of alms, but they recognize and preserve the *imāmate*. Here, as in Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal* (London, 1846), 115, they are listed as a class of the Shī'a. Many authors, however, consider them as a Mazdakite sect. Cf. A. Bausani, "A proposito di un passo di Šahrastānī sulla dottrina mazdakita," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 22 (1947), 74-6.

242. Nakhshab or Arabic Nasaf, later Qarshi, is SE of Bukhara; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 136-7. Kish (or Kašš), present Shahrīsabz, was farther to the east.

243. Sūbakh (B, D: Shūbakh): A village in the province of Kish, in the vicinity of Nasaf. See Sam'ānī 316 b, and Yāqūt, 3, 182. 'Amr Sūbakhī, the heretic, is not mentioned; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 135. For a poem about the place see Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl wa ash'ār-i Rūdakī*, 1, 297, note.

244. Ḥumaid ibn Qaḥṭaba was the well-known governor of Khurāsān, 151-9/768-776, who is frequently mentioned by Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr. He lived in Ṭūs. See Yāqūt, 3, 560, and for further references G. Wiet, trans. *Ya'qūbī*, *Les Pays*, 130, note 6.

245. The mountain Sām: Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 92, says there was a castle, called Sanām, where he lived. Halkin, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, 77, note 4, has Siyām. Cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 134, and G. Wiet, trans. *Ya'qūbī*, *Les Pays*, 131, note 7.

246. The Turks were invited: About this time many Turks were converted to Islam. According to Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 211, trans. 194, Muqanna' obtained the aid of the *khāqān*, himself. Cf. J. Marquart, "Güwaini's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren," *SPAW*, 27 (1912), 487. Ibn al-Athīr, 11, 117, says, "These Ghuzz are a tribe which migrated from the district, situated on the farthest boundary of the Turks, to Transoxiana in the days of Maḥdī, and they became Muslims. Muqanna' asked their aid until his affair was concluded. When an army advanced against him (Muqanna') they forsook him. That is their custom in all realms." See also Ibn al-Athīr, 6, 26. Halkin, *op. cit.*, 77, says he was aided by the Khalaj Turks.

247. Ḥusain ibn Mu'ādh: He is probably to be identified with the Ḥusain ibn Mu'ādh ibn Muslim Rāzī, foster-brother of Mūsā al-Hādī, mentioned by Ṭabarī, 3, 586, year 170/786-7, for Mīrkhwānd says Mu'ādh



ibn Muslim was sent by the caliph against Muqanna' in 161. See M. De-frémery, *Histoire des Samanides* (Paris, 1845), 230-1.

248. Hshwī (B: Hsrī; C and D: Khshrī; read Khshwī) is similar to the name of the person in note 211. Bāghī may be the Arabic "rebel." Or it may be derived from NP *bāgh*, as in the name Qarābāghī.

249. Ghujduvān: A village of Bukhara. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 119-20, for information and sources. Yāqūt, 3, 775, only mentions it; Maqdisī, 267 c, has the same form of the word. It exists today according to the *Bolshei Sovetskii Atlas Mira*, 2 (Moscow, 1939).

250. Narjaq or Narshakh, a village near Bukhara. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 120, for references.

251. Jibra'īl ibn Yaḥyā Bajalī: Minister of Mahdī according to L. Caetani, *Cronografia generale del bacino mediterraneo e dell'oriente musulmano* (Rome, 1923), 187, 222.

In 148/765 Manṣūr sent him to the Caucasus to fight a Turkish invasion. See Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 441, and Ṭabarī, 3, 328. In 150/767 he and Mu'ādh ibn Muslim were in the Herat area fighting the religious rebel Ustadhsīs, on whom cf. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux*, 155-162, also Ibn al-Athīr, 5, 452, and Ṭabarī, 3, 354.

On his participation in the suppression of Muqanna' see Ṭabarī, 3, 484, and Ibn al-Athīr, 6, 26-7. Little is added to the account of Narshakhī.

252. B: yellow boots; D: golden: Lykoshin, 91, explains this as an indication of his slow movement, so 'Abbās would have time to kill Ḥakīm and then return. This is doubtful, but it remains unclear.

253. Pardon Abū Muslim: Yet the "White Raiments" held Abū Muslim in high esteem! According to Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 2 (Cairo, 1945), 95-6, the "White Raiments" trace their *imāmate* back to Abū Muslim and call his slayer, Manṣūr, a devil. Ibn al-Athīr, 6, 25-6, says they considered Abū Muslim above Muḥammad, and said the *imām* Yaḥyā ibn Zaid was not dead.

254. Sughdiyān (B: Sa'd Sughdiyān): This is an unusual form of the name "Sogdian." See the forms of the name in W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, 9, and in O. Paul, *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamen*, 10 (1934), 206-14. Perhaps it refers to an inhabitant of the village of Sughdān, near Bukhara; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 131.

255. Jibra'īl went to Samarqand and fought: The details of his continued battles are given by Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 173-76, based on Ibn al-Athīr. There was a rapid succession of amīrs of Khurāsān before Mu'ādh ibn Muslim became governor in 161/777. See Ṭabarī, 3, 476, and Ibn al-Athīr, 6, 31. There was much fighting with the Turks. Cf. the long account in Ba'lamī's Persian translation of Ṭabarī, (Cawnpore 1324/1906), 241-3.

256. Amīr of Herat: Sa'id al-Ḥarashī. According to Ṭabarī's Persian translation (as preserved in a MS of the British Museum; cf. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux*, 164, note 5) Sa'id abandoned Mu'ādh when the Turks attacked, and there was enmity between these two. For fur-



ther references cf. G. Wiet, trans., *Ya'kūbī, Les Pays*, 131, 125, note 2, where his name is read Jurashī.

257. Zarmān: A village on the road from Bukhara to Samarqand, south of the Zarafshān river, seven parasangs from Samarqand. Cf., Iṣṭakhri, 334, 343; Yāqūt, 2, 925, and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96. The *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans., 113, has *Armān*; Sam'ānī 273 b, says it is seven parasangs from Samarqand.

Rabinjan: A village near Samarqand, also called Arbinjan. Cf. Yāqūt, 1, 189-90. Sam'ānī 248 b, gives little information. Ibn Hauqal, Maqdisi and Iṣṭakhri have more.

258. Musaiyab ibn Zuhair (B: Zubair) al-Ḍabbī: Governor of Khurāsān 780-3. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200, note 1, for a discussion of dates, and G. Wiet, trans. *Ya'kūbī, Les Pays*, 20, note 7, and 132, note 1, for references.

259. Kūlār (D: *Krdr*): Cf. note 66. Turkish *kül är*. The former, however, may be connected with Iranian *gul*; cf. O. Hansen, "Tocharisch-iranische Beziehungen," *ZDMG*, 94 (1940), 161-2. Guard: *ḥashm sākhte*.

260. Hideous face: He is said to have had one eye, and was disfigured. See the *Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awwām fī ma'rifat maqālāt al-anām* (Tehran, 1313/1935), 185. Also 'Aufī's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, MS, Nuru Osmaniye, 69 b. By coincidence an 'Umayyad poet called Muqanna' was renowned because he was so handsome, according to Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb 'uyūn al-akhbār*, (Cairo, 1930), 4, 27.

261. The story of the mirrors is told also by the *Kitāb tabṣirat*, *op. cit.*, 185; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1, 318-23. The story of Muqanna's moon of quicksilver, which he raised and lowered, became well known in story and poetry. Cf. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 2, 95, for references to the poetry, also the *Mujmal al-tawārikh wa'l qīṣaṣ*, 334. 'Aufī's, *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, MS, Nuru Osmaniye 69 b, gives a poem:

"Madness fell on his distorted brain till he became like an ass, so he brings up the sun and moon from the well of Kašš (Kish)."

For further references to the mirrors and moon see Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 183, note 1, and Halkin, *op. cit.*, 77, note 1.

262. The death of Muqanna': D adds, at the beginning: "More than 20,000 soldiers went to his castle and fought (outside). But they were unable to capture the castle. When the time of the destruction of Muqanna' arrived, Maḥdī sent Sa'id Kharsī (*sic*: Ḥarashī) who was amir of Herat, to the door of the fortress. He encamped—."

Sources differ in regard to his death. Cf. Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 178, and Halkin, *op. cit.*, 78, note 2. The *Mujmal al-tawārikh wa'l-qīṣaṣ*, 335, tells the same story as Narshakhī, adding that he killed all four-footed creatures in the castle also. Ibn Khallikān, trans. De Slane, 1, 436, says he poisoned himself. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 2, 95, places his death in 163/779-80; cf. also Spuler, 199.

263. Khākhushtuvān (A has Khashtuvān): Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200, note 2, and Sam'ānī, 470b. On the castle of 'Umar see Sam'ānī, 506 a, (under al-Mubaiyidī) line 11. There it is 'amir.



264. Remnants of "White Raiments": They are found in Ilāq according to the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans., 117. Maqdisī, 323, mentions their existence in Transoxiana, also Birūnī, *Athār*, 211. 'Aufī, *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, MS, Nuru Osmaniye, 69 b, says, "Today in Transoxiana a group of his followers exists which practices animal husbandry and agriculture. They are called 'White Raiments.' They conceal their belief and faith, and no one knows what their custom is." Cf. Halkin, *op. cit.*, 78, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, 3, 323, says Injkand is the name of a town belonging to the followers of Muqanna'; it is now in ruins. On the use of white garments as a symbol of the priest class see G. Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus I* (Paris, 1941), 67, and G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, 393. The Manichaeans used white garments. Cf. P. Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Foukien," *TP*, 22 (1923), 202.

265. Promiscuity: Herodotus, 1, 216, says that wives are common to all among the Massagetae. When a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver in front of her wagon and no one hinders him. This is substantially the same as the account in Strabo, 11. 8, 5-6. Cf. Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 320-5.

The Mazdakites were accused of the same practice. See C. Shefer, trans. *Siyāsat nāme*, 248.

The Hazaras in Afghanistan are said to have held to this custom till recently. See Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien* (Leipzig, 1901), 19, note 3.

Homosexuality: Maqdisī, 281, says it is practiced publicly in Bukhara. On p. 36, he says cities situated by a large river, or on the sea, are full of it. For a discussion, with references, see A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, 134-5, and Spuler, 381.

266. Rāfi' ibn Laith: According to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200, he was the grandson of Naṣr ibn Saiyār, (see note 219). The reason for his revolt in Samarqand, a family affair, is told by Ṭabarī, 3, 707-8. The Persian translation of Ṭabarī, trans. Zotenberg, 4, 471-8, gives an intimate account of his revolt.

267. Harthama ibn Ā'yan: He was an important general of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who aided Ṭāhir, another general, to secure the caliphate for Ma'mūn. See the Persian Ṭabarī, trans. Zotenberg, 4, 481-495. He was governor of Khurāsān, 191-3/807-9. Cf. Ṭabarī, 3, 719. He was imprisoned by Ma'mūn and killed in 201/816 or 7. See Ṭabarī, 3, 997-8, and Zotenberg, 4, 504-5.

268. Hārūn died at Tarsus in Cilicia.

269. Ghassān ibn 'Abbād: Governor of Khurāsān 202-5/817-20. He was removed by Ma'mūn who appointed Ṭāhir his successor. Cf. Ṭabarī, 3, 1042-3.

270. Aḥmad: This is an error. Most sources agree that Aḥmad was given Ferghāna, Yahyā - Shāsh, Nūḥ - Samarqand, and Ilyās - Herat. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 192, *Tārīkh-i guzida* of Qazvīnī (London, 1910), 379, and Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār* (Berlin, 1927), 20. According to 'Abbās, Iqbāl, *Tārīkh-i Irān* (Tehran, 1940), 192 and 220, Barthold, *Turkestan*,



209, would be wrong in saying that Ilyās left no successor in Herat. Ilyās had a son, Ibrāhīm, who became commander-in-chief of the Tāhirid army. He was defeated in 253/867 by Ya'qūb ibn Laith, and had to flee; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 192-3. The *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, 68, says Ilyās had many descendants in Herat.

271. The caliph meant here is not Wāthiq bi'llāh, but al-Mu'tamid 'alāllāh, and the year Naṣr began to rule Transoxiana 261/875. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 193, Ṭabarī, 3, 1889, Defrémery, *Histoire des Samanides par Mirkhond* (Paris, 1845), 114, and Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, 20. Spuler 328, note 14, gives the date as ca. 845 (*sic*).

272. The date of the capture of 'Amr is discussed by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 225, note 3. Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, 20, has very little. The date 900 seems most probable.

273. Isma'īl died on Wednesday 14 Ṣafar 295, Nov. 24, 907, according to Gardīzī, 22. This is also stated by Mirkhwānd in Defrémery, *Histoire des Samanides*, 124, and Sam'ānī, 286 b.

274. Sam'ānī, 286 b, gives the same date for the birth of Isma'īl.

275. Husain ibn Tāhir (B adds: Antākī): According to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 222, he is to be identified with the brother of Muḥammad ibn Tāhir. This is doubted by R. Vasmer, "Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Hurāsān," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 23 (1930), 148. Husain ruled over Merv in 263/876, according to Ṭabarī, 3, 1915, 1931, after having been in Nishāpūr the previous year. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 206. Nothing is said of his activities in Khwārazm or Bukhara. See also T. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin, 1892), 207. The *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 325, note 1, gives the family tree of a Husain ibn Tāhir, but says nothing of his rule in Merv. It may be another member of the Tāhirid family.

276. Text is unclear. Lykoshin, 99, "They sought a large ransom" (for what they had seized).

277. Text is unclear. I have read *khalq* for *khalqrā*.

278. On Abū 'Abdallāh, son of Abū Ḥafṣ see note 207. His request for an amīr for Bukhara from Naṣr, is told by Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 193. "Fighter" is *mubārīz*. Lykoshin, 99: "a clever man."

279. On the troubles in Khurāsān at this time, cf. T. Nöldeke, *op cit.*, 211-12.

280. Ṭabarī does not discuss the episode of Isma'īl's entrance into Bukhara. Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 193, says it occurred in the year 261/875.

On Husain ibn Muḥammad al-Khawārijī (B: Khwārazmī) cf. Barthold, "Zur Geschichte der Ṣaffāriden," *Orient. Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, 1 (Giessen, 1906), 184.

281. The scattering of gold on a sovereign was a widespread custom among the Turks. Cf. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, 159. It was also the practice in old Russia. Cf. Spuler, 347.

282. Note the inconsistency of this date with the one given in the preceding chapter. It is impossible to determine which is correct because of conflicting sources.



283. He was not the caliph, but the chief adviser of his brother, Mu'tamid, 870-892.

284. On the *khutba*, cf. T. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* (Leiden, 1908), 87-8. According to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 220, 'Amr ibn Laith was the first ruler to order his name in the *khutba*. Previously this had been reserved for the caliph.

285. Abū Zakariyā (ibn) Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad: He may be the same person as the one who was a trouble-maker during the reign of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad in 316/928. See Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 140.

286. The account of Ḥusain ibn Ṭāhir's attempt to invade Bukhara is not found elsewhere. On the confusion of two persons called Ḥusain ibn Ṭāhir cf. R. Vasmer "Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 23 (1930), 148. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 222-3, reproduces this section with little comment.

287. Yasārī: Arabic "the left handed." I have found no references to this individual. On the family see Sam'ānī, 600 b.

288. The account of Isma'il's struggle with his brother Naṣr is told in fullest detail by Narshakhī. Other sources add little. The general outline of his account can be controlled by Mirkhwānd, trans., Defrémery, 115-6, Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 193-4, and later Persian historians.

289. The cause of the strife between Isma'il and Naṣr is not found in other sources, Mirkhwānd, trans., Defrémery, 115, says that the friendship of Isma'il for Rāfi' ibn Harthama caused some evil men to tell Naṣr that the two were plotting to drive him from Transoxiana and usurp his (Naṣr's) authority. The story of "The advice of Abū Maṣṣūr Ṭalḥa to the amīr Isma'il Sāmānī against his brother Naṣr," in the *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Aufī, summary by Muḥ. Nizāmu'd-dīn, 163, story 621, does not explain the causes of the rupture.

Rāfi's friendship with Isma'il is attested by Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 193, who says as a result Rāfi' gave Khwārazm to Isma'il to govern. On Rāfi' ibn Harthama cf. *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. De Slane, 4, 324-5.

290. The continued debasing of the coinage may have had an influence on the inflation. Cf. R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 291-328.

291. Ishāq ibn Aḥmad: This person is Ishāq ibn Aḥmad al-Sāmānī, Isma'il's brother, who revolted against Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'il in 301/913-14. Cf. chapter XXXIII of Narshakhī, and Ṭabarī, 3, 2289-90. No other source telling of Ishāq's rule of Bukhara in this time has been found. From the next page it will be seen that Ishāq was on Isma'il's side in his struggle with Naṣr. The *Ta'rikh Samarqand*, foll. 64 b, says there were four brothers, Naṣr, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, and Isma'il.

292. B, E: Dādbdīn; C: Wādhbdīn; D: Wārmīdn or Dārmīdn: The text is corrupt.

293. Comments on Narshakhī's dating of events in this period are found in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 223, bottom. The year of Naṣr's death is



confirmed by Sam'ānī 286 b, and by Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 117. The story of Isma'il's clemency to his brother is found in other accounts and has been often repeated. See the *Tārikh-i Baihaq* (Tehran, 1318/1940), 68, which has an account similar to Narshakhī.

294. The role of the volunteer warriors for the faith in the expansion of the Islamic frontier beyond Transoxiana was important, but we have little information about their activities. They are variously called 'ayyār, *muṭatawwi'a*, *fityān*, or *ghāzis*. Cf. M. F. Köprülüze, *Les origines de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1933), 102-3, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 215, and Yakubovskii, "Makhmud Gaznevi," *Ferdousi*, 63. The role of the *ghāzis* in Central Asia continued after the fall of the Sāmānids. Ibn al-Athīr, 9, 210, tells of an expedition of the Qarākhānids against the infidels. Cf. Yāqūt, 1, 249, under Isfijāb.

295. Expedition to Ṭarāz: Cf. note 22. Yāqūt, 3, 524, lists the learned men from there. Sam'ānī 368 b, does the same, adding that many were followers of the *imām* Shāfi'ī. Both say the city is situated on the frontier of the Turks.

Isma'il's raid and conquest of Ṭarāz is mentioned by Ṭabarī, 3, 2138 (year 280). He captured the ruler and his wife, Khātūn, as well as much booty. Cf. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 288-90. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 8, 144, gives a few more details including the name of the king, *Ṭankas* which is to be read *Tanrač* ~ *Tafrač* ~ *Tabrač*; Pritsak, *loc. cit.* A detailed account of Isma'il's fight with the Turks is given by Yāqūt, 1, 841. The Turks made use of a magic rain stone against the Muslims, but Isma'il, by prayers, secured the aid of Allāh who dispersed the infidels. See the Ibn al-Faqīh, Mašhad MS, fol. 172-3, translated in *Materialy po Istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii* (Leningrad, 1939), 154-5. (This is not in the BGA edition of Ibn al-Faqīh.) For archaeological work on Ṭarāz cf. A. N. Bernshtam, "Banya drevnego Taraza" *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2, 177-83, and his *Pamyatniki Stariny Talasskoi Doliny* (Alma Ata, 1941), 4-9 for references, and 34-42. The Turks of Ṭarāz were Qarākhānids according to O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *op. cit.*, 288.

296. 'Alī ibn Husain: He is mentioned in the *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 250, 251, 253, and notes. On p. 253 it says that 'Amr sent him to Gurgān, but this cannot be correct. 'Alī's son was active in the Sāmānid service according to the *Tārikh-i Sistān*.

On Merv cf. V. Zhukovskii, *Razvaliny Starago Merva* (St. Petersburg, 1894), 216 pp. plates.

On Merv al-Rūd (in the vicinity of present Bālā Murghāb, Afghanistan), cf. Yāqūt, 4, 506, Sam'ānī, 522 b, and references in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans., 328.

297. Amīr Dāūd of Balkh: Coins of this ruler have been found; see Barthold, *Turkestan* 224, note 6. He is probably Dāūd ibn Abī Dāūd 'Abbās mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih, 180. (Barthold gives the rest of his name.) He fought against the ruler of Zabulistān. Cf. also Ibn Hauqal, 323, who mentions the land of the banī Dāūd ibn Āl-'Abbās, (not men-



tioned in Kramer's new edition of Ibn Hauqal, 2, 444-5). One of the same family (?) may be Dāūd ibn al-'Abbās ibn Mābnjūr mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 171. Aḥmad ibn Farīghūn: Nothing need be added to Minor-sky's detailed account of the Farīghūnids in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans., 173-78. Aḥmad is discussed on p. 176. For a shorter analysis, cf. M. Nāẓim, *Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, England, 1931), 177-8.

298. Narshakhī's account of the cause of hostilities between Isma'īl and 'Amr is not confirmed by other sources. The story found in most books (Gardīzī, 18, Ibn Khallikān, trans. De Slane, 4, 326-7, Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 346, and Ṭabarī, 3, 2183 and 2194) is that 'Amr asked the caliph for the mandate of rule over Transoxiana after sending him the head of Rāfi' ibn Harthama. Qazvīnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i guzida*, 376, says the caliph instigated Isma'īl to attack 'Amr. It seems clear that 'Amr intended to attack Isma'īl. It should not be forgotten, however, that the historians, on the whole, were pro-Sāmānid. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 225.

299. 'Alī ibn Surūsh: Gardīzī, 18, has 'Alī ibn Sharvīn, so also the *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 252 note, and 254.

Muḥammad ibn Laith (or ibn Bishr): The commander of the army according to Ibn Khallikān, 4, 327, Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 346, and Mīrkhwānd, *Rauḍat al-ṣafā*, personal MS, folio 6b. The edition of Lucknow (1332/1914), 4, 4-5, has Muḥammad ibn Bashīr, while Gardīzī, 18, has Bishr; so also *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 254.

300. The battle between the Ṣaffārids and Isma'īl was severe. According to Gardīzī, 18, Bishr was killed in flight with 7,000 of his men, and 'Alī ibn Sharvīn was captured. This was in the year 286/899. This story is also found in Ibn Khallikān, 4, 327, and in the *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 254.

301. D: "I want retribution for Bishr and 'Alī ibn Sharvīn."

302. Narshakhī's statement on the nature of Isma'īl's army is corroborated by the *Siyāsat nāme* of Niẓām al-Mulk, 15, trans., 22. Ṭabarī, 3, 2194, on the other hand, says Isma'īl gathered the people of the land and the *dihqāns* to go with him against 'Amr. The *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 255, says the workers joined the army. Mīrkhwānd, *Rauḍat al-ṣafā* (Lucknow, 1914), 4, 5, says Isma'īl's cavalry had only wooden stirrups.

303. Maṣṣūr (D: 'Irāq) Qarātekīn: This is probably the member of the ruling family of Isfijāb mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 176 and 228. He was governor of Khurāsān under Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, and died in 951. (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 248-9). It would be difficult, though not impossible, to extend his life span from the days of Isma'īl to Nūḥ. It may be his son, or another person. See note 338.

Pārs Baikandī: No other references to him have been found. The only other Pārs (or Bārs) I have found, is Bārs al-Ṣaqlābī in Ibn Fadlān's mission.

304. Balkh: The question of whether 'Amr had to besiege and take Balkh, or whether it already belonged to the Ṣaffārid domain is not clear. Amīr Dāūd of Balkh is supposed to have submitted to 'Amr. Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 346, and Ṭabarī, 3, 2194, say he stopped at Balkh. Lykoshin, 111, translates, "'Amr ibn Laith seized the city and citadel."



305. D: "He made the army happy." Lykoshin, 112, "He fortified the walls and informed the people to leave the city, and he quieted it."

306. Fāryāb: A town in Gūzgān (Jūzjān), north of Maimana in present-day Afghan Turkistān. Minorsky in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans. 335, says it is present-day Daulatābād. It is mentioned by Yāqūt, 3, 840, while Sam'ānī 416 b - 417 a, gives the learned men.

307. The battle between 'Amr and Isma'il is described in several sources as the rare instance of the leader of the army being captured while the entire army escaped without harm. Cf. *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, 67, and Tha'alibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. De Jong, 88. Other sources, however, contradict this, saying that 'Amr fought much and suffered severe losses. See Ibn Khallikān, trans. De Slane, 4, 329, Gardizī, 18, *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 256, Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 346, and Ṭabarī, 3, 2194.

308. The circumstances of the capture of 'Amr are related in many books, and many are the stories told about this event. Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr do not discuss these anecdotes, but the account of 'Amr's horse falling, and how 'Amr fell into Isma'il's hands, is told also by Ibn Khallikān, 4, 328, and Mīrkhwānd, *Rauḍat al-ṣafā* (Lucknow ed.), 4, 5.

An oft-told anecdote about a dog which carried off 'Amr's supper after his capture, is told by Mīrkhwānd, 4, 5, the *Tārikh-i guzida*, 376-7, and the *Siyāsat nāme*, 15-16, trans. 23-4. Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1, 354.

The date of 'Amr's capture is discussed by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 225, note 3. To be added to his sources are: Gardizī: middle of Rabī' al-Auwal, 287/March 900; the *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 256, has the end of the same month. Narshakhī is wrong. Isma'il's good treatment of 'Amr is also mentioned by Mīrkhwānd, 4, 6 and the *Tārikh-i guzida*, 377. The *Siyāsat nāme*, 16, trans. 24, tells of his fair treatment, as does the *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 260-1.

Ibn Khallikān, trans., 4, 329, says 'Amr was kept in chains. Cf. also T. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 213-4.

Abū Yūsuf was Isma'il's brother, according to Ibn Khallikān, trans. 4, 328.

309. 'Amr's treasures: The *Siyāsat nāme*, 16-17, trans. 25, the *Tārikh-i guzida*, 377, and the *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* of 'Aufī, abridged by M. Nizāmu'd-dīn, 79, 154 (no. 383), all tell the story that 'Amr offered Isma'il his treasures, but Isma'il rebuked him by reminding him that he and his brother had been coppersmiths, and had amassed that wealth by illegal means. Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 119-20, tells a long story of Isma'il's search for the treasures in Herat.

310. Placed in a litter: Or in chains, according to Ibn Khallikān, trans. 4, 329. The *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* of 'Aufī, *op. cit.*, 227 (no. 1716), says 'Amr was sent to the caliph in a cage. The *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, 67, says he was displayed in the bazar of Sabzavār in an iron cage. When he arrived in Baghdad, he was paraded through the streets on a two-humped camel, according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 8, 200-1, Ibn Khallikān, trans. 4, 329, and the *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 261.



311. Šāfi al-Khurramī, servant of the caliph, is said to have ordered the execution of 'Amr in 289/902. See Ṭabarī, 3, 2208, and Ibn al-Athīr, 7, 357. 'Aufī, *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, *op. cit.*, 159, no. 517, (also India Office MS, foll. 118a and 160a.) tells a story that the caliph Mu'tamid (*sic* Mu'tadid) ordered, on his death-bed, the execution of 'Amr. Mirkhwānd, (Lucknow ed.), 4, 6, gives a detailed account: "Some say Mu'tadid, at the time of his death, ordered 'Amr killed. Some say he was forgotten when Mu'tadid died, but he ('Amr) died of hunger." The same is found in the *Tārīkh-i guzida*, 378. It is also related that Muktafi, successor of Mu'tadid, was favorably inclined towards 'Amr, so the vezīr Qāsim had 'Amr killed and told the caliph he was not living.

Poems on the fall of 'Amr from power are found in the *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 262, and in the *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, 67.

312. Isma'il's domains: The *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, 68, bottom, says Isma'il ruled from Kāchgār (Kāshgār) to Raiy. According to Gardizī, 21, Isma'il sent his general to conquer Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 122, says the caliph, after the defeat of 'Amr, sent Isma'il the appointment over Sistān and Iṣfahān, in addition to Khurāsān and others. But Sistān was conquered by Aḥmad ibn Isma'il in 910, according to Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 129.

313. There are many stories of Isma'il's good character, justice, and capability. Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 124, gives an example of his justice in correcting false weights in determining the taxes, and sending the excess in taxes back to the inhabitants. Cf. the interesting find in Central Asia of bronze weights with the certificate of accuracy by Isma'il in M. Dyakonov, "Bronzovaya Giryā s imenem Ismaila Samani," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 165. The *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* of 'Aufī, abridged by Muḥ. Nizāmu'd-dīn, 79, 156, tells of Isma'il's justice. Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 4. The *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, 69, tells how Isma'il mingled with the poor and common folk on certain days.

On the loyalty of the Sāmānids to the caliphs, cf. H. Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia* (Lahore, 1942), 45-8.

314. Isma'il died on the 14th of Šafar, 295, according to Gardizī, 22. Other authors agree with this year. Sam'ānī, 286 b, says he died in Šafar 295/Nov. 907. Ṭabarī, 3, 2279, has 14 Šafar of the same year. It is of no importance to discuss the length of his rule, because various sources have different ideas on the date of the beginning of his rule. The *Tārīkh-i Nishāpūr* of Naisābūrī gives him seven years rule with the same date of death, foll. 19 b.

315. Conquest of Sistān: Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 129, says he conquered it in 298/910-11. A long account of the conquest is given by Gardizī, 23-4. From this we learn it was a slow and difficult process. The *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 290-4, naturally gives more details. On the conquest cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 52-3.

316. Abu'l 'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Ša'lūk, governor of Ṭabaristān. The same account as Narshakhī is given by Gardizī, 24. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (Tehran, 1942), 266, calls him Muḥammad ibn (Ibrāhīm) Ša'lūk, and says he was governor of Raiy, but in 298/910-11



took over the affairs of Ṭabaristān as well. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 61, gives his genealogy. His predecessor was Abu'l 'Abbās 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ. Ṣa'lūk fought Uṭrūsh (below) several times, according to Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 62, 64.

317. Ḥusain ibn 'Alā: Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārikh-i Ṭabaristān*, 97, calls him Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Nāṣr al-Kabīr Uṭrūsh, and gives his Shī'a genealogy. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 60-2, gives a genealogy which is somewhat different. Ibn Miskavaih's *Kitāb tajārib al-umam*, 1, 36, dates the revolt of Ḥusain ibn 'Alī in 302/914-5. The revolt of Nāṣr al-Kabīr, as Ibn Isfandiyār calls him, and his battle with Ṣa'lūk is described pp. 268-9 of the *Tārikh-i Ṭabaristān*. Ṭabari, 3, 2292, (year 302) mentions the trip of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī the 'Alid al-Uṭrūsh to (Sālūs) Chālūs, where Ṣa'lūk advanced against him.

318. Death of Aḥmad: Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 130, tells the same story as Narshakhī, but adds that the slaves were disgusted by Aḥmad's company with the learned men, so they resolved to kill him. The *Tārikh-i guzida*, 381, says he introduced the use of Arabic instead of Persian in orders and decrees, and the *ghulāms* were angry at his company with the learned men, so they killed him. Gardizī, 24-5, tells the same story as Narshakhī. According to Maqdisī, 337, he was killed in Firbar (Farab), a village of Bukhara. So also Sam'ānī, 286 b. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 58, adds nothing, and Ṭabari, 3, 2289, even less. The *Tārikh-i Ṭabaristān*, 270, says Aḥmad had collected 40,000 troops to go to Ṭabaristān to put down the revolt. He was two marches from Bukhara when the slaves beheaded him. Regarding guardian lions cf. Spuler, 352.

319. Date of Aḥmad's death: The year and month is confirmed by Gardizī, 25. Sam'ānī 286 b, has the same date as Ibn al-Athīr, below. Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 130, has the 23d of Jumādā the first 301. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 58, has seven nights remaining in Jumādā the second, of the year 301. Ibn Miskavaih, *Kitāb tajārib al-umam*, 1, 33, says the news of his death arrived in Baghdad the same year.

320. Abu'l-Ḥasan Naṣr ibn Ishāq al-Kātib: This is the name given by Gardizī, 25. I have not found it elsewhere. *bi dār*: "hanged," for MP "crucified."

321. His rule lasted six years four months and five days: Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 130, has the same, which does not add correctly with Narshakhī's date of Aḥmad's accession.

322. Naṣr (ruled 913-43): The sources on the life of this sovereign are plentiful. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 240-5. The story of his reign is full of accounts of rebellions and struggles against various enemies. He was a mere boy of eight when his father was killed. Ibn Fadlān, (ed. Zeki Validi Togan, 7, Russian edition, 56, MS, folio 197b) refers to him as a young, beardless youth when he saw him in 921.

323. Jaihānī is the famous prime minister, geographer, and learned man. He is Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, not to be confused with his grandson Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, as Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arib*, 2, 59 did. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 6, 293-4, gives little information



on Jaihānī. His appointment as minister is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 59, adding little to Narshakhī.

324. Hamavaih ibn 'Alī (or Hamūye; cf. T. Nöldeke, "Persische Studien," *SWAW*, (1888), 388-415): His exploits are described briefly by Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 132. Gardīzī, 26, tells of his struggle with Ishāq ibn Aḥmad (below) and 29, his battle with the rebel Aḥmad ibn Sahl. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 21 note 2, and 241.

325. Ishāq ibn Aḥmad: The brother of Isma'īl and Naṣr. He had been imprisoned by the amīr Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl at the beginning of Aḥmad's reign. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 5, and Gardīzī, 22. At the death of the amīr Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, Ishāq is found in Samarqand, in revolt against his grand nephew. He issued his own coins according to A. A. Bykov, "Novyi klad kuficheskikh monet . . .," *Trudy Otdela Numismatiki*, 1 (1945), 110. The sons of Ishāq—Maṣṣūr and Ilyās—joined their father in his revolt. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 59-60. According to Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 60, the first defeat of Ishāq occurred in Ramaḍān of 301/April 914. He came out a second time, but was defeated and sent as a prisoner to Bukhara, while his son Ilyās fled to Ferghāna. Gardīzī, 26, tells of only one revolt, much fighting and the final defeat of Ishāq, who was granted amnesty. Later he was conducted to Bukhara where he remained till his death. Naisābūrī in his *Tārīkh*, folio 19b, calls him Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad ibn Nuḥ al-Sāmānī Abū Ya'qūb, one of the influential men around the amīr Isma'īl.

326. Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Ishāq: He had been appointed governor of Raiy by the amīr Isma'īl. See Gardīzī, 21. Under the amīr Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl he was sent to Sīstān, where he experienced difficulties. He was put in prison by pro-Ṣaffārid rebels, but finally was set free by a Sāmānid army. See Gardīzī, 23-4. According to Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4, 338, Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Marvazī incited Maṣṣūr to revolt, but Maṣṣūr died in Nīshāpūr before the Sāmānid general could attack him. The date of the revolt was probably 302/914-15. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 154, has Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, which may be an error. It may refer to our Maṣṣūr ibn Ishāq, although the dating is against it.

327. Abu'l 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā: No reference to this person has been found. There is an Abu'l 'Abbās 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Nuḥ ibn Asad, who was governor of Ṭabaristān under the amīr Isma'īl. Cf. the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, 260.

328. Gardūn Kashān: perhaps "wheel makers," if in a bazar.

329. Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā: His revolt began about 317/929. He was a son of the amīr Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, according to Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 154. The same story of the revolt is given by Ibn Khaldūn, 4, 342-3. This is translated in the notes to Mirkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 245-6. Gardīzī, 29-30, briefly tells the same story. When Naṣr went to Nīshāpūr he kept his three brothers in prison in Bukhara, but a baker, or cook, let them out and a revolt was raised. Naṣr returned and suppressed it. Yaḥyā fled to Samarqand, then Balkh, then Nīshāpūr, and finally to Baghdad where he died. Ibn Khaldūn, 4, 342, says Yaḥyā and Maṣṣūr gave themselves up to Naṣr, while the third brother fled to Baghdad then to Mosul. See Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 157.



330. Fire: A characteristic of 10th century buildings was the relatively large quantity of wood used in them. Maqdisī, 314, says the mosque of Merv al-Rūd had wooden columns. So also was the *minbār* of the Nishāpūr mosque built by Abū Muslim, according to Maqdisī, 316. Cf. A. Yakubovskii, "Vremya Avitsenny," *IAN* (1938), 3, 97-8, for a brief discussion. On wooden structures of this period cf. *Trudy Sogdiiskogo-Tadzhikskoi Arkh. Ekspeditsii* (Moscow, 1950), 210-20.

331. Porridge: *harisa*. Lykoshin, 118, says it is eaten by the Sūfī orders in Turkistān. It is perhaps more like a stew than porridge.

332. Bakār: Lykoshin, 118, translates this "street of the virgins" but a proper name is found in Naisābūrī's *Tārīkh*, folio 37a: Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd Naṣr ibn Bakār al-Zāhid al-Bukhārī. On Farjak see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 103, and 111, note 10.

333. On the reign of the amīr Ḥamīd Nūḥ cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 246-49. The same date of his accession is also given by Gardīzī, 32.

334. On Abū Dharr see note 12. Narshakhī is in error, unless Abū Dharr is the same as Abū Faḍl Muḥammad al-Sulamī al-Ḥākim, who became Nūḥ's prime minister, but was killed in 335/946. Cf. Gardīzī, 32, 34, and Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 345. According to Sam'ānī, 342 a (under al-Shahīd) the amīr tried to protect his minister, but was unable to save him, so the troops of Nūḥ's army killed him. Al-Sulamī wrote the book.

335. Abū 'Alī Isfahānī: Read Abū 'Alī Chaghānī (or Ṣaghānī) ibn Muḥtāj. The cause of his revolt as stated by Narshakhī, resentment over his replacement, is told also by Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 344, and Gardīzī, 34. The involved story of his activities and relations with the Sāmānids is too long to recount here. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 247. He died in 955 after the death of Nūḥ.

336. Ibrāhīm ibn Sīmjūr (B: Abū Ibrāhīm *sic*): The Sīmjūr family played an important role in political affairs in Transoxiana under the Sāmānids. For the genealogy of the family see Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 261. Sam'ānī 323 a, says the first Sīmjūr was a slave of the Sāmānids, but his children became amīrs. Sam'ānī praises Ibrāhīm, and says he governed Bukhara well. He also ruled Merv, Nishāpūr, (in 333 acc. to Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 334), Herat and Quhistān, and died in Shawwāl 336/April 948. Sam'ānī tells also about other members of the family. Ibrāhīm ruled Jurjān 328-9/939-40, according to Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 269, 276. His name is given by Naisābūrī, in his *Tārīkh*, 39 b, "Ibrāhīm ibn Sīmjūr al-amīr son of al-amīr abū Ishāq ibn abī 'Imrān al-adīb, governor of Bukhara and Herat and Merv and Naisābūr."

337. Abū Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl Sāmānī: There is confusion with the Ishāq of note 325. He was one of three brothers who revolted against the amīr Naṣr. He went to Mosul and served the Būyid amīr Naṣr al-Daula till Abū 'Alī called him. The battle of these two with Nūḥ, and the date of their entrance into Bukhara, is confirmed by Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 345. Gardīzī, 34, and Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 146, tell the same story as Narshakhī. After Abū 'Alī went to Chaghāniyān, Ibrāhīm made peace with Nūḥ, but the latter blinded Ibrāhīm and two of his brothers. See Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 346.



338. Maṣṣūr ibn (*sic*, Maṣṣūr) Qarātekīn was a prince of Isfijāb (see note 303). He fought for Nūḥ against the Būyids, (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 366), as well as against rebels. He is said to have died in Rabī' the first 340/August 951 in Raiy, according to Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 369-70, or in Nishāpūr (Gardizī, 38). Ibn al-Athīr says he was buried in Isfijāb where he was born. He must have lived long to serve both Isma'īl and Nūḥ.

339. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Qazvinī was a partisan of Abū 'Alī, who was placed in charge of Merv when Abū 'Alī and Ibrāhīm marched on Bukhara. He is also called Abū Aḥmad. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 347.

340. On the date of Nūḥ's death see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 249, note 2.

341. Ash'ath ibn Muḥammad: No information about him has been found except in Gardizī, 44, who says *Bbdāḥ* (note says Ash'ath ibn Muḥammad) went against Alptekīn at Khulm near Balkh, but was defeated, and returned to Bukhara.

342. The death of Abu'l Fawāris: Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 398, says his horse fell and the amīr died from the fall. Defrémery in his translation of Mirkhwānd, 152, says he was playing polo and fell from his horse. Gardizī, 42, gives details. He says the amīr had drunk some wine and was playing polo when his horse threw him and he broke his neck. On the date of his death see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 250, note 3.

343. The story of the difficulties involved in Maṣṣūr's accession to the throne are discussed by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 250, note 4, 251. The general sequence of events related by Narshakhī seems to be correct, although the motives of Alptekīn are not clear.

344. Sent an army: C, F, and Lykoshin, 121, "he sent a man." The meaning is uncertain.

345. Alptekīn: Turkish *alp* "brave," *tekin/tigin* "prince," both found in Orkhon Turkish. On *tekin* see note 66. In the reign of Abu'l Fawāris, he killed the commander of the Sāmānid armies in Khurāsān with the amīr's consent. See Gardizī, 41.

346. Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥ. ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq: In 349/960 he was appointed commander of the Sāmānid army in Khurāsān, and was praised by Gardizī, 42. When the amīr Maṣṣūr ascended the throne he wrote to Abū Maṣṣūr to attack Alptekīn, while the latter wrote to him also seeking his friendship. Abū Maṣṣūr followed the instructions of the Sāmānid court, but soon realized that his position was difficult because of the changing whims of the court at Bukhara. He allowed his soldiers to plunder, and himself entered into negotiations with the Būyids. According to Gardizī, 44, Vushungīr, ruler of Gurgān, induced a doctor to give Abū Maṣṣūr poison, from which he died. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 353, gives 336/947 as the date when he was in Tūs. The editor of the *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 1, note 1, mentions a *Shāhnāme-i Abū Maṣṣūri*, which is said to have been composed for our Muḥ. ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq. Can there be a relation between this Abū Maṣṣūr and Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq from Sabzavār, who wrote a book in honor of Abū'l Ḥasan al-Simjūrī? See the *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, 162.

347. Alptekīn was not defeated at Balkh. On the contrary he de-



feated the Sāmānid army. Gardizī, 44, places the action near Khulm. The *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 384, says Abu'l Ḥasan ibn Sīmjūr marched against him, but was defeated at Balkh. The second time the Sāmānid army was again defeated near Ghazna. Narshakhī's account is not corroborated by other sources, but the final conciliation of the amīr Maṣṣūr with Alptekin is mentioned by other sources.

348. The *Tajārib al-umam* of Ibn Miskavaih is especially devoted to the history of the Būyids. In the year 355/966 the *Tajārib al-umam*, 2, 222, tells of the incursion of a horde of *ghāzis* from Khurāsān into the Būyid domains. See Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 421. In 361/971-2, peace was made between the amīr Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ and Rukn al-Daula of the Būyids, on condition that the latter pay a yearly tribute of 150,000 *ḍinārs*. A treaty was signed. See Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 461.

349. Nishāpūrī *dirhams*: *Dirhams* struck at the Nishāpūr mint. Whether they were more uniform, or containing more silver, than others, is unknown. See H. Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes," *JA* (1880), 448, (1882), 64.

350. Death of Maṣṣūr: Gardizī, 47, says he died on the 11th of Shauwāl 365/June 976. Ibn al-Athīr, 8, 495, says he died in the middle of Shauwāl 366/977, in Bukhara, and his rule lasted fifteen years. Sam'ānī, 286 b, has Shauwāl 365.

351. The genealogy of Abu'l-Qāsim Nūḥ is incomplete in this heading. After Maṣṣūr should come ibn Nūḥ, for Maṣṣūr was the son of Nūḥ and grandson of Naṣr. The rulers of the dynasty of the Sāmānids and their *laqabs* were: Isma'īl ibn Aḥmad, al-amīr al-Mādī; Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, al-amīr al-Shahīd; Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, al-malik al-Sa'id; Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, al-amīr Ḥamīd; Abu'l Fawāris 'Abd al-malik ibn Nūḥ, Muwaffaq; Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ, al-malik al-Sadīd; Nūḥ II ibn Maṣṣūr, al-amīr al-Raḍī; Abū'l Ḥārith Maṣṣūr II ibn Nūḥ, none. Compare Bīrūnī, *Athār*, 134.

352. Gardizī, 54, calls him 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uzair. He was appointed prime minister by the amīr Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr in 986. Ibn al-Athīr, 9, 19, who calls him 'Uzair, says this took place in 373/983-4. The length of his office is not known, for in 992, when Ḥārūn ibn Sulaimān (with the title of co-khāqān Bughrā Khān) captured Bukhara, the amīr Nūḥ called 'Abdallāh from Khwārazm and made him his prime minister. See Gardizī, 54. According to 'Utbī, trans. by J. Reynolds, *The Kitab-i-Yamīni* (London, 1858), 186, the minister was surrendered to Subuktekīn, father of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. At the death of Subuktekīn he was released, but was later imprisoned by Naṣr ibn 'Alī (called Ilek Khān in the Islamic sources through a misunderstanding; cf. O. Pritsak, "Karachaniden,") of the Qarākhānids. See Gardizī, 58, and *Der Islam*, 31 (1953), 27, and *Oriens*, 3 (1950), 211. 'Utbī, *op. cit.*, 205.

353. Abu'l 'Abbās Tāsh was made commander of the troops in Khurāsān, replacing Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥ. ibn Ibrāhīm Sīmjūrī in 371/981-2. See Gardizī, 49. The tables were turned several years afterwards when 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uzair became prime minister, for



he was an enemy of Tāsh. Tāsh revolted and was defeated by Fā'iq and Abu'l Ḥasan. He fled to Gurgān after his defeat and died there in 378/988, according to Gardizī, 52.

354. Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥ. ibn Ibrāhīm Sīmjurī: On this family see note 336. He was commander of the Khurāsān army till replaced by Tāsh in 982. He succeeded in having his enemy, the prime minister, 'Utbī assassinated. He did not resume office but retired to his fief and died there in the spring of 989. See Gardizī, 52, and Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 169.

355. Abu'l Ḥasan al-Fā'iq became a rebel after his defeat by Abū 'Alī, and the assumption of the governorship of Khurāsān by the latter. Fā'iq tried to attack Bukhara, but was defeated, and fled to Balkh. See Gardizī, 53. He was reinstated in favor in Bukhara when Naṣr ibn 'Alī (called Ilek Khān) invaded the Sāmānid domains. Fā'iq, however, made peace with the Khān, and was sent by the latter back to Balkh, as the Khān's representative, according to Mīrkhwānd, Defrémery, 171-2.

After many adventures and combats against Subuktekīn, and his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Fā'iq joined the Qarākhānid forces, and was instrumental in bringing about the fall of the Sāmānid kingdom, before he died in 389/999. See Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 196, Gardizī, 60, and Ibn al-Athīr, 9, 105.

356. Abū 'Alī son of Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥ. ibn Ibrāhīm Sīmjurī had a career of intrigue and war. He fought against Fā'iq, then united with him against the Sāmānid government and its ally Subuktekīn.

He finally gave himself up to the amīr Abu'l Qāsim Nūḥ, who had promised to pardon him. The amīr, however, arrested Abū 'Alī and sent him to Subuktekīn, who imprisoned him till he died in 387/997. Gardizī, 57-8, says Subuktekīn imprisoned them (Abū 'Alī and three brothers) in Gardiz, Afghanistan, and killed them all in 387.

357. Abu'l Ḥārith Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ was the last of the Sāmānids to rule in Bukhara. He possessed little power, and was actually under the control of the chief minister Fā'iq and Bektūzūn, governor of Khurāsān. (The name is to be read Beg tūzūn, according to Pritsak.) He was suspected of entering into relations with the Ghaznevīds against Fā'iq and Bektūzūn, so these two blinded him and put his brother 'Abd al-Malik on the throne. Cf. Mīrkhwānd, trans. Defrémery, 193. Gardizī, 60, says it was on the twelfth of Ṣafar 389/Feb. 999. After him his younger brother Abu'l Fawāris 'Abd al-Malik ruled under the orders of Bektūzūn, but he, and other members of the Sāmānid family, were imprisoned by Ilek Khān in October 999, and the dynasty came to an end.

358. Bektūziyān: In other sources he is Abu'l Fawāris Bektūzūn Ḥājib, Sinān al-Daula. Cf. Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 134, trans. 130. Gardizī, 59, has Abu'l Ḥārith. He was a chamberlain, and rival of Fā'iq. They later became friends, blinded the amīr Maṣṣūr, and placed his brother on the throne in 999. See Gardizī, 60, and Ibn al-Athīr, 9, 105. Cf. *Tārīkh-i Baihaqi*, 640-2.

359. Sarakhs: A well-known town between Nishāpūr and Merv, Yāqūt, 3, 71, spells it Sarkhas. Yāqūt, as well as Sam'ānī 296 a, traces the name back to a prophet of the time of Kaikāūs.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

This is essentially a bibliography of the principal items used in the preparation of this study. Other items may be found in the introduction and notes.

For a bibliography of manuscripts and texts of Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara*, see the introduction. They are not included in this bibliography.

(N.B. The differences in the spelling of names are maintained in the text and bibliography; Marquart or Markwart is used according to the spelling on the title page of the work cited. Barthold for English and German, and Bartold for Russian, are both used.)

### I. Abbreviations

|               |                                                                                                        |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AFKM:</b>  | <i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , (Leipzig).                                        |
| <b>AGAW:</b>  | <i>Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> , (Göttingen).            |
| <b>AO:</b>    | <i>Archiv Orientalní</i> , Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, (Prague).                   |
| <b>BGA:</b>   | <i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i> , ed. M. J. de Goeje, (Leiden, 8 vols.).                    |
| <b>BI:</b>    | <i>Bibliotheca Indica</i> , (Calcutta).                                                                |
| <b>BSOS:</b>  | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i> , (London).                                          |
| <b>BSOAS:</b> | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , continuation of the former after 1941. |
| <b>GMS:</b>   | <i>E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series</i> , (London).                                                       |
| <b>IAN:</b>   | <i>Izvestiya Akademii Nauk</i> , Classe des Sciences Sociales, (Leningrad).                            |
| <b>JA:</b>    | <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , (Paris).                                                                    |
| <b>JAOS:</b>  | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , (New Haven, Conn.).                                  |
| <b>JRAS:</b>  | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain</i> , (London).                               |
| <b>JRASB:</b> | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , (Calcutta).                                    |
| <b>MA:</b>    | <i>Mélanges Asiatiques</i> , tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersburg. |
| <b>SPAW:</b>  | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , (Berlin).                       |
| <b>SV:</b>    | <i>Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie</i> , (Moscow).                                                            |
| <b>SWAW:</b>  | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , (Vienna).                             |
| <b>TP:</b>    | <i>T'oung Pao</i> , (Leiden).                                                                          |



- UJ:** *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, (Berlin).  
**VDI:** *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, (Moscow).  
**WZKM:** *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, (Vienna).  
**ZAN:** *Zapiski Akademii Nauk*, Classe des Sciences Historico-Philologiques, (Leningrad).  
**ZIV:** *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya (Kollegii Vostokovedov)*, Akademiya Nauk, (Leningrad).  
**ZKV:** *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, (Leipzig).  
**ZDMG:** *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, (Leipzig).  
**ZMNP:** *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, (St. Petersburg).  
**ZVOIRAO:** *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, (St. Petersburg).

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*On the works of W. Barthold, see:*

1. The article of M. Dostojevskij, "W. Barthold, Versuch einer Charakteristik," *Die Welt des Islams*, 12 (1930), 90-136, gives an interesting account of the life and works of Barthold, with a bibliography.
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